

HISTORY
OF THE
LUTHERAN CHURCH
IN AMERICA

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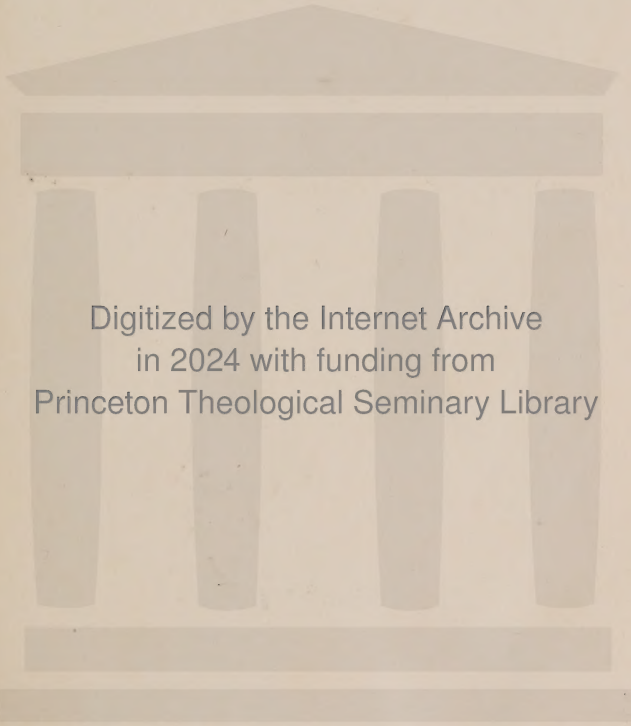
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HISTORY

OF THE

LUTHERAN CHURCH
IN AMERICA

BY

✓
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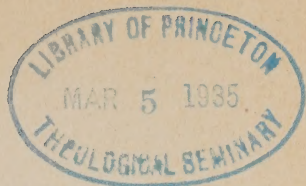
Prepared for third edition by

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Third Revised Edition

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FOREWORD

The *Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, in its first edition, English and German, was published 1903 and 1904 by the present Lutheran Literary Board with the co-operation of H. G. Wallmann, Leipzig, for Germany. It was an unpretentious little book of two hundred pages, with an introduction by Professor F. W. Stellhorn of Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, and by Professor G. Kawerau of Breslau University for Germany. The translation from the German into English was the work of Rev. Joseph Stump, later president of the Northwestern Theological Seminary, Minneapolis, Minnesota. The little book grew out of my personal hunger for a textbook which would give in brief form the most essential information concerning the history and status of Lutheranism in America.

A second edition, enlarged to four hundred seventy pages, appeared in 1916, again in both languages. Of the first edition the sale of the German held pace with the English. But of the second edition the demand for the German was small. Thus the publication of the third edition is exclusively in English. *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis!*

Between the second and the third editions much history has transpired in great mergers that have been effected. Much material had to be added in this new edition, and because we have resisted the temptation to enlarge the book much of the old material had to be recast and abbreviated. The writer of this Foreword was so much burdened with literary tasks that he had to leave this work of revision to the Rev. Willard D. Allbeck, who, in constant consultation with the original author, revised the materials from the previous edition, edited the manuscripts of contributors, and prepared the new materials not otherwise acknowledged. Special contributions by the writer of this Foreword are: the Introduction; the new estimate of the Fort Wayne convention (1866), on which I had the value of consultation with my colleague, Dr. B. H. Pershing; the "Points of Difference" in the fifty years of predestination controversy, which is a supplement to a former report from Dr. G. J. Fritschel; and the "Con-

clusion." We are grateful to the Rev. Ellis B. Burgess, D. D., LL. D., for a very stimulating critical review of our previous outline. Our organization was materially improved by his contribution.

In the cases where we had reason to believe that we might miss the full and correct interpretation of the history of a body, we solicited reviews from a recognized representative. Thus, the late President A. G. Voigt, D. D., LL. D., of the Southern Theological Seminary, Columbia, S. C., furnished us with data, on the basis of which Chapter VII, "The United Synod in the South," was written. The Rev. Otto Engel of the Wisconsin Synod, who at our solicitation submitted for our guidance in revising the chapters on the Synodical Conference an excellent manuscript which we hope may find publication as a monograph. Professor Paul H. Buehring, D. D., of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, prepared the section, "The Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States," in Chapter XII, "Independent German Synods." He also furnished us with data used in writing Chapter XVIII, "American Lutheran Church." Professor E. Denef, formerly of Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, wrote the section, "Buffalo Synod," for Chapter XII. Professor G. J. Fritschel, D. D., of Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa, gave us the guiding thoughts for writing on "The Iowa Synod" in Chapter XII, and on the "American Lutheran Church" in Chapter XVIII. The Rev. N. J. Løhre, D. D., Secretary of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, prepared Chapter XIII, "The Norwegian Synods," and Chapter XVI, "The Norwegian Lutheran Church." The Rev. A. T. Lundholm, D. D., formerly of the faculty of Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois, wrote Chapter XIV, "The Augustana Synod." Professor Hans C. Jersild of Trinity Theological Seminary, Blair, Nebraska, prepared the section on the Danes in Chapter XV, "Other Scandinavian Synods." President John Wargelin, D. D., of Suomi College, Hancock, Michigan, wrote the section on the Finns in Chapter XV. Dr. B. H. Pershing gave the whole manuscript a critical reading. To all these men who made their contributions as "a service of love" we express our deep-felt gratitude.

Though the words, "A Brief," which were found in the title of the previous editions of this book, no longer appear, the

treatment is still concise. The selected bibliography to be found at the close of the book represents the most significant part of the literature consulted in the preparation of this treatment; the list constitutes but a small part of the large literature now available.

This edition presents a more balanced narrative than in the second edition where it was felt certain messages needed emphasis. If in the present edition the history and estimate of the predestination controversy seems out of proportion, it is because we believe the subject justifies this exception. To our deep regret we must omit the appendix of the second edition which contained: The Davenport Theses; The Thirteen Propositions of "Missouri" Concerning Election; The Toledo Theses; Statements Relative to the General Synod's Doctrinal Basis (Richmond Resolutions). These are carefully worded documents presenting the confessional experiences peculiar to the Lutheran Church in America. More recent documents, most of which are referred to in this book, are: the declarations of the United Lutheran Church at Washington (1920) and Buffalo (1922); The Chicago Theses (1928); The Minneapolis Theses (1925); The Milwaukee Statement of Missouri (1931); as well as the St. Paul Theses.

The biographical notes have been continued but limited to those whose life work is quite, or nearly, finished. Thankful for the service which this book has been permitted to do during thirty years, we pray that the Lord of the Church may bless it in this third edition!

Springfield, Ohio, 1933.

J. L. NEVE.

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INTRODUCTORY

Two essential preliminaries will be helpful as an approach to our study: first, an acquaintance with the histories which have undertaken to tell the story of American Lutheranism as a whole; second, an explanation of the mode of treatment here used.

I. The Specifically Significant Histories

The books which deal with the history of the Lutheran Church in America as a whole, eight in number, are enumerated in the bibliography at the close of the book. For the special purposes of this introduction we shall here review the histories of Wolf, Graebner (Bente), Jacobs (Fritschel) and Wentz.

The first book of outstanding importance was that of Professor E. J. Wolf at Gettysburg entitled *The Lutherans in America*, 1889, 544 pages. The subtitle read: "A story of struggle, progress, influence and marvelous growth." It did not present a continuous narrative. It was written for the larger public in the form of fascinating sketches, with gripping rhetoric and burning enthusiasm. It included, among others, chapters on the church at large, the Reformation, the Lutheran Church and her future. Its popular form enabled it to exercise a powerful influence upon the educated laymen of the Church, who gradually became champions of historic Lutheranism and took an active part in bridging the differences that separated the confessionally divided sections of the Lutheran faith in this country.

Another book in the form of a more rounded history of American Lutheranism was published in 1893 by Henry Eyster Jacobs, late president of the Philadelphia Seminary. It bore the title *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*, and contained 539 pages. It was the fourth volume in the American Church History series. This book came as a pioneer in the field. Dr. Jacobs was a thorough-going theologian, at home in the foreign languages (see the biographical note). The range of his interest was

marvelously wide.¹ It covered Exegesis, History, Symbolics, Dogmatics, Liturgics and much more. Dr. Jacobs' studies along historical lines, especially regarding the Reformation, together with his experience in the conflicts that followed the Fort Wayne convention of 1866, both inclined and fitted him for writing a history of the Lutheran Church in America which should represent the "golden mean" between "American Lutheranism" and the type represented by "Missouri." His work was academic in form and style. He knew the situation and had the ability to express fitting judgments. The literary references with footnotes reveal the thoroughness of his research. More than three fourths of the book are devoted to Lutheranism in the eastern states, much of which, of course, concerns also the other sections of our church. We must keep in mind that the book appeared forty years ago. The confessional interest is naturally predominant, although other matters are not overlooked. Dr. J. Nicum translated the book into German.

The work of Professor George J. Fritschel, *Geschichte der lutherischen Kirche in Amerika*, must be spoken of at this place. It consists of two parts, the first of which appeared in 1896, 211 pages; the second in 1897, 432 pages. The first part is a very free translation of Dr. Jacobs' book, somewhat differently fashioned in outline and contents; but the second part, beginning with page 129, moves independently, stressing the return to confessional conservatism as a movement which owed its beginning to the missionary endeavors of W. Loehe in Neuendettelsau, Germany, through the work of the missionaries he sent to America, who took part in the founding of the Missouri and the Iowa synods. Fritschel then describes particularly the relations and conflicts between "Missouri" and its opponents. It closes with sketches of the history of the General Council and the General Synod. This work was written prior to the great inter-synodical conferences between Missouri and her opponents. It was at a time when the conflict between the synods of this whole German group was very severe and partisanship pronounced. Fritschel would readily agree with Jacobs, speaking of his own book,

¹ See the article by his son, President C. M. Jacobs, on "The Writings of Henry Eyster Jacobs: A Bibliography." *The Lutheran Church Quarterly*, Vol. VI, April, 1933.

that "every page of his book would need to be rewritten if it were to be re-issued today."² Fritschel's history contains materials which no writer of an American Lutheran history can afford to overlook.

Next to be mentioned are two histories from the "Missourian" camp, both of which because of the death of their authors were left unfinished. Dr. A. L. Graebner's *Geschichte der lutherischen Kirche in America*, 1892, appeared only in its first volume of 726 pages. He was a highly talented professor of church history in Concordia Theological Seminary in St. Louis. He covered only the period up to the founding of the General Synod in 1820. The original sources for all this part had all been examined with great care (see his introduction). But he did not indicate the places in these sources upon which his valuable observations rested, neither did he give a table of contents for orientation. The use of the book, therefore, is difficult. However, we have quoted very interesting materials from this volume. The other work in question is by Dr. F. Bente, professor in the same seminary, who had planned a treatment of the subject in four small volumes; of these only two appeared (1919). The first dealt with the *Early History of American Lutheranism and the Tennessee Synod*, 237 pages, in which the author follows Dr. Graebner. The second on *The United Lutheran Church*, 243 pages, consists chiefly of critical studies of the bodies now merged in the United Lutheran Church, such as he published for many years in *Lehre und Wehre*. Clippings from church papers on individual and incidental occurrences and utterances, which were much criticized within the body and were more and more generally overcome, are not material for a history.

In 1923 the professor of church history in the Gettysburg Seminary, Dr. Abdel Ross Wentz, published the first edition of his book, *The Lutheran Church in American History*, 355 pages. At the time of this writing (1933) a second edition of 465 pages has appeared which, besides a system of pedagogical helps of about sixty pages, adds some thirty-five pages of material on mergers, developments in the United Lutheran Church, etc., with new chapters entitled the "Ameri-

² Wentz, *The Lutheran Church in American History*, p. 13. See also *Lutheran Church Quarterly*, January, 1933.

can Lutheran Church," "Co-operating Groups" and the "Lutheran World Convention." This interesting book, written in a brilliant style, is somewhat different from the other histories. The author calls it an "introduction to the history of the Lutheran Church in America" (p. 4). His purpose is to show that the events in the history of the Lutheran Church in America are a reflection of like situations in the history of the nation. This he presents in the six parts which constitute the organization for the treatment of his material: Part I, In Colonial Times (1625-1760); Part II, At the Birth of the Nation (1740-1790); Part III, In the Youth of the Republic (1790-1830); Part IV, A Period of Internal Discord (1830-1870); Part V, In the Days of Big Business (1870-1910); Part VI, In an Age of Larger Units (1910—). In an introductory chapter to each part (excepting the second) the general historical background is pictured, and then the pertinent history of the Lutheran Church is related. The question naturally arises whether this comparison can be completely carried out.

The student of the history of American Lutheranism dare not limit himself to the use of a single textbook. All pertinent literature must be consulted. Students using our book will wish to supplement it by a study of Dr. Wentz's work which is so full of fitting historical judgments. In this present book we have taken occasion to note cases of interaction between the history of the nation and of the church. But we have not ventured to seek in them the evidences of a universally functioning rule. As to interaction between the Lutheran Church of America and the surrounding denominations including the Protestantism of Europe, this volume has many references.

II. Methods of Presentation

In attempting to review nearly three centuries of Lutheran history in America, we now ask: How is the material to be treated? The procedure which we have found satisfactory in our previous editions is again followed, its advantages having become increasingly clear. To the three sections of previous editions a fourth is added to cover the recent and important merger developments:

- I. Organization of the first congregations.
- II. Organization of the first synods.
- III. Organization of the first general bodies.
- IV. Mergers among general bodies.

This organization of our material permits the treatment of the individual synods and general bodies as units. Present-day characteristics and organizations are traced and accounted for historically. This treatment is least bewildering to the beginning student. At the same time it makes possible a real genetic development of the history.

The topical method takes up certain historical interests, prominent among these the confessional attitudes, and applies them comparatively to the various existing bodies. This cross-section method is legitimate. It is very interesting because it invites comparison. The unities which are sought can also be developed genetically, but the beginning student loses his orientation. He is confused by constantly being taken from one organization to another. In the cross-section method, especially when the confessional interest has the exclusive emphasis, there lies the temptation for the author constantly to standardize his own body or territory, and to criticize, discredit or ignore the bodies or territories of a different tradition. Only a fine sense of academic objectivity, such as Dr. Jacobs had, shields an author using the cross-section method from the dangers mentioned.

No one method can claim all the advantages. The disadvantage of our own long-section method consists in the fact that in the treatment of the great doctrinal conflicts the situation must be pictured in the frame of only one of the bodies, with cross-references to the sections dealing with the other bodies concerned. The great doctrinal conflicts of the last century, which affected many other bodies, are studied in connection with the history of the Missouri Synod. But the whole life of each of the historical bodies is pictured by itself with all the impressiveness that goes with this non-confusing long-section method.

THE FIRST PERIOD

ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST CONGREGATIONS

The beginning of the Lutheran Church can be traced in the organization of independent Dutch and Swedish congregations. The Germans who first immigrated to New York founded churches along the Hudson and in the Schoharie Valley. Afterwards we hear of German Lutheran organizations in Pennsylvania and all along the coast as far south as Ebenezer in Georgia. The Dutch congregations were absorbed by the German and English churches, while the Swedish Lutherans eventually united with the Episcopal Church. It is characteristic of this epoch that (excepting the Swedes) we find no trace of synodical connection whatever among these scattered congregations.

CHAPTER I

LUTHERANS IN THE COLONIES

A. THE DUTCH LUTHERANS

New Netherland owes its origin to an expedition in 1619 of Henry Hudson, an Englishman, who, in the service of Holland, tried to discover a water-way through the northwest to seas beyond. He sailed a considerable distance up the Hudson River hoping that he had discovered a northwest passage. His reports to Holland inspired some Amsterdam speculators to send trading ships to the Hudson River. Some time later men interested in trade with America organized the Dutch West India Company. A ship load of settlers sent by this Company reached America in 1623. The largest group of these pioneers consisting of some eighteen families settled at Fort Orange, near where Albany now stands. A group of forty-five persons arrived from Holland in 1625 and settled on Manhattan Island, founding New Amsterdam. Settlers continued to arrive year after year. Peter Minuit, the first person to bear the formal title of governor, purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians during the summer of 1626 for a trade consideration of some twenty-four dollars in trinkets and merchandise. He proceeded to erect a stone fort there. Fur-trading with the Indians soon assumed large proportions, yet troubles of all sorts beset the colony. Minuit was recalled in 1631 because of dissatisfaction both in the colony and in the Company. In 1628 Manhattan Island contained but thirty houses and two hundred seventy people.

Through the years the colony suffered the hardships of pioneer life and isolation from the home base. In the spring of 1647 New Amsterdam fired off practically all the remaining gunpowder in the town in salute to Governor Peter Stuyvesant, destined to be the last of the Dutch governors of the colony and of vital concern to Lutheranism in New Netherland. There may have been some Lutherans among the earliest settlers. They are first mentioned by Isaac Jogues, a French Jesuit father, who had been captured by Indians hostile to the French and who had escaped by the aid of the Dutch to New

Amsterdam in 1643. However, there was no trace of an organization. The Swedes, though they came later, had the first organizations. The Dutch Reformed Church was organized and had a minister at an early date. A church had been built, financed in part by a subscription list which the governor had passed around among the guests at a wedding who had been drinking joyously, and who, after sobering up, looked at their pledges in dismay. It was sometime later before the Lutherans were numerous enough to ask for a pastor of their faith. By the year 1653 they had petitioned the governor and the Company three times for a pastor. But Stuyvesant, being pledged by his oath of office to tolerate no religion but the Reformed, refused to grant the request. And the protests of the Reformed ministers of New Netherland, Domine Megapolensis and Domine Drisius, prevailed with the authorities in Holland.

The Lutheran dissatisfaction focused on two matters. The first was that the Lutherans were required to take their children to the Reformed ministers for baptism. This, to be sure, had been the custom in Holland where a Lutheran pastor could not be secured. But in New Netherland the parents and sponsors must promise to train their children in the Christian faith as interpreted by the Dort Confession. The other source of dissatisfaction was that the Lutherans were forbidden to hold meetings in private homes. Either to read or listen to a sermon at such a meeting made one liable to a fine and in some cases imprisonment. Against this restriction the "adherents of the unaltered Augsburg Confession" addressed a petition to the governor in 1656. They made complaint also to the Company. As a result the governor and the Reformed ministers were reprovved for their over-zealous measures and were advised to use gentler methods to win the Lutherans over to the Reformed faith.

Early in July, 1657, the Rev. John Ernest Gutwasser (Goetwater) arrived, having been sent by the Lutheran Consistory of Amsterdam. His presence meant joy to the Lutherans but bitterness to the Reformed. Immediately after his arrival he was summoned to court and instructed not to perform any ministerial acts. He was ordered to return home on the first boat leaving the colonies. But he evaded the order for a time, was in hiding with a farmer over a winter,

was detained for a time by sickness, and worked quietly until arrested and deported in 1659. The Company approved this deportation. Though they advocated religious toleration as a political measure, they did not desire to encourage Lutheranism. Not until 1663 was religious toleration really in operation. A Quaker, punished by Stuyvesant, demonstrated to the Company that any other policy would seriously interfere with financial developments in the colony. Just before this became effective, however, Abelius Zetscoorn, a Lutheran student, was prevented from preaching in the colony.

The Lutherans formed a definite organization in 1663. It was truly cosmopolitan in character. Some of the members were Dutch but most of them were German or Scandinavian. The leading man in the congregation at this time was Paulus Schrick, a German.

In 1664 the government of the colony was changed. Stuyvesant was compelled to surrender his fort and town to the English under Colonel Nicolls who became governor of the colony which was now named New York instead of New Netherland. The new government provided that no person was to be molested, punished or imprisoned on account of his religious preferences. The governor's permission to call a Lutheran pastor was readily secured, but several years elapsed before the Lutherans were able to secure one in the person of Magister Jacob Fabritius. The choice was unfortunate. The new pastor proved to be so despotic and hot-headed that he was compelled to give up the work he had begun at Albany, and later to leave New York, where the congregation owned and worshipped in a house on the present site of the tower of Trinity Episcopal Church.

His successor was Bernhard Arensius, a man of gentle personality and pleasing presence, who labored faithfully through twenty years amid political disturbances in the colony. In the winter he served the congregation in Albany, in the summers he labored in New York. Under his direction a second building was erected in New York. The first building was demolished by the Dutch during their short return to power in 1673 because it stood outside the fort and interfered with the defense of the town.

After the death of Arensius the two congregations of Albany and New York had to prove their stability by being

without a pastor for ten years. The New York congregation in 1695 consisted of about thirty families, the Albany congregation of about twelve, while the Reformed Church had twenty-nine buildings and seventeen hundred fifty-four members. Finally Magister Rudman, who had been in the service of the Swedes, accepted a call in 1702, and although serving but a year, proved to be a man of constructive and organizing talents. In 1703 he entrusted the parish to Justus Falckner, the history of whose work continues in the section concerning the Germans in New York.

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B. THE SWEDISH LUTHERANS

Gustavus Adolphus, sharing the interest of his age in trade and colonization in America, made his plans for Swedish enterprise in the new world with the advice of Willem Usseinx, a Dutchman. On June 6, 1626, a charter for the "South Company" was signed at Stockholm, one feature of which was the propagation of the true Gospel. The execution of the plan was delayed by Swedish participation in the Thirty Years War in Germany and the death of Gustavus Adolphus on the battlefield.

The plan was finally perfected and two ships, the "Gripen" and the "Kalmar Nyckel," under the command of Peter Minuit, former Director General of New Netherland, sailed up the Delaware River about the middle of March, 1638. A salute fired from the guns on board attracted the Indians from whom the Swedes purchased land and founded a settlement. They built Fort Christina and two houses where Wilmington, Delaware, now stands, and began trade with the Indians. The Swedish policy of fair and kindly treatment of the Indians saved the colonists much trouble and prepared the way for the treaty of William Penn.

Among the passengers of the second expedition arriving April 17, 1640, was Reorus Torkillus, the first Lutheran pastor in America. (Note: We are speaking of pastors working among the settlers. The first Lutheran pastor to see America was Rev. Rasmus Jensen, chaplain of a Danish ship which visited Hudson Bay in 1619. See Schmauk, *History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 17; Finck, *Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America*, chap. I.) Services were held in the fort until a chapel was built in 1641 or 1642. Rev. Torkillus died in 1643 but that same year the Rev. John Campanius arrived with the fifth expedition and began a mission among the Indians, translating Luther's Catechism into their language. He also consecrated the first Lutheran church of the new world, built 1646 on the island of Tinicum, not far from the present site of Philadelphia.

The Dutch of New Netherland resented the Swedish competition in the trade with the Indians and erected Fort Casimir some distance down the river from the Swedes to control trade in that section. In 1654 a Swedish company of some twenty or thirty men easily captured Fort Casimir whose few defenders were without gunpowder. Governor Stuyvesant had his revenge the following year. He arrived before the Swedish forts quite suddenly with three hundred seventeen men besides some sailors in a motley group of seven ships, and compelled the Swedes to surrender. The colony was, therefore, under Dutch control until 1664 when the English ended Dutch power in America.

After their surrender to the Dutch, the Swedes were permitted to retain the services of their Lutheran pastor. But immigration from Sweden ceased and Lutheran pastors,

with the exception of the Rev. Lars Lock, returned to their native land. Only with the greatest difficulty could this solitary pastor carry on his work among the scattered settlements. Only for a time was he assisted by Abenius Zetscoorn, an unordained student, who was both teacher and preacher in one of the settlements. The Rev. Jacob Fabritius came to his assistance in 1677, but when this worthy clergyman became blind after five years of work, the ministerial services rendered to the Swedes became altogether insufficient.

Lars Lock died in 1688, Fabritius in 1693, and the Swedish Lutherans found themselves in a desperate situation. Services conducted by laymen who read from books of sermons were not satisfactory. The young folks were more interested in riding-races than in divine services. The Swedes' applications for pastors addressed to the Consistories of Amsterdam and of their own country, of which they knew only by hearsay, were of no avail. The coming of the English under Penn brought no relief. They had nothing with which to nourish their spiritual life, with the exception of a few Bibles and religious books. These volumes were so constantly used that they threatened to fall to pieces.

Anders Printz, nephew of a former governor of the colony, chanced to visit the Swedes in 1690. On his return to Sweden he told Postmaster Thelin of Gotheborg what he had seen in the Swedish colony. Thelin wrote to the colony for details. The colonial reply, signed by thirty men, included a list of the inhabitants, nine hundred forty-two persons in one hundred eighty-eight families. They asked for two ministers, twelve Bibles, three sermon books, forty-two books of worship, one hundred hymnals, two hundred catechisms and two hundred A B C books. A postscript offered to pay for the books even if they were lost enroute. The letter was presented to the king who directed the archbishop to send the pastors and books requested. Pastors Rudman, Bjork and Auren were selected and passage arranged for them on ships sailing to America.

Pastors and books arrived on the shores of the Delaware in 1697. Auren was to make a survey of the region and report to the king. Rudman became pastor of a congregation at Wicaco, now Philadelphia, where he built in 1700 old Gloria

Dei Church at a cost of eight hundred pounds. Bjork took charge of the congregation at Tranhook (Wilmington) where he built in 1699 Holy Trinity Church, today known as Old Swedes Church.

For some time thereafter we notice a continued influx of Swedish Lutheran ministers, who soon made their influence felt, not only because of their thorough education, but also because of the literary attainments of some of them. Among the most influential were John Dylander, the Provost Acrelius (author of the valuable *History of New Sweden*), and Provost Wrangel, a most eminent divine, who also sustained close relationship with Muhlenberg and the Germans. But the fact that these clergymen remained under the supervision and control of the Swedish authorities, who would on occasions recall them at the time when they were most needed here, proved disastrous to the development of the struggling congregations. Some of the Swedish pastors had acquired the use of English, which was demanded more and more by the young people, and preached on occasions in Anglican churches. The place of such men could not easily be filled. The recall of Dr. Wrangel, who had done a great work and whose presence could not be well spared, caused bitter resentment among the congregations. They demanded more consideration from the authorities abroad and called for English-speaking ministers, employing on occasions the services of Anglican clergymen. As a result the Swedish government refused to send any more pastors and the Lutheran congregations gradually affiliated with the Anglican (now the Episcopal) church. Here we have the explanation why the old historic church buildings mentioned above are no longer the property of the Lutheran Church. Only one congregation has remained independent of the Episcopal Church to the present day.

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C. THE GERMAN LUTHERANS

1. Lutherans among the Pietists at Philadelphia

Not until the beginning of the 18th century were there sufficient Germans in this country to justify the idea of organization. Lacking a united government and prostrate after the Thirty Years War, Germany could entertain no thoughts of colonization. Only individuals and small expeditions came to America. And they were not Lutherans, but Quakers, Mennonites, and mystics of every description who sought refuge from the persecutions of the German State Church in the colony of William Penn. However, among these elements Lutheran tendencies were not altogether extinguished.

One of the results of a visit of William Penn to the Quakers of Germany was the organization of the Frankfort Land Company. To this corporation he sold large tracts of land in the vicinity of the present Germantown, where in 1683 Franz Daniel Pastorius with twenty German families founded "German Township" (Germantown).

To this settlement in 1694 came forty men, German Pietists or Mystics. They had fled persecution in Germany and came to live as hermits in the forest studying mysteries and Theosophy and spending their time in devotion and contemplation. Among this group of religious enthusiasts were three of significance to the Lutheran Church: Henry Bernhard Koester, Daniel Falckner, and later Justus Falckner.

The first German Lutheran service in Germantown, in fact, in America, was conducted by Koester in 1694.¹ It took place in the home of a Mennonite by the name of Van Bebber. Although opposed by Pastorius, the Lutherans continued to hold services in Van Bebber's home. Koester combined mystical tendencies with strong Lutheran convictions. He brought

¹ Koester not only preached in German but also used the German liturgy. There is a possibility that the first Lutheran services in New York were in German since the church consisted largely of Germans under Gutwasser.

with him to America a copy of the Augsburg Confession, and while crossing the ocean he cautioned his companions against the heresies of the Quakers. As a preacher he attained such high repute that even English speaking people flocked to hear him. He soon decided to preach in English as well as in German and transferred the English service to Philadelphia. The result of these English services was the founding of Christ Church, the first Episcopal church in Pennsylvania. He returned to Germany in 1700. He was an eccentric character whose chief merit was his strong Lutheran position regarding the person of Christ and the means of grace. Though he did not found any Lutheran congregation, he counteracted in a measure the rationalizing influences of Quakerism.

The Falckners were the sons of a Lutheran pastor in Langen-Reinsdorf near Zwickau, Saxony, which parish had also been served by their grandfather. Daniel (born 1666) had studied theology before his emigration to America. When he was a Licentiate at the University of Erfurt he was a member of the Pietistic circle which gathered around August Hermann Francke and he took an active part in the Collegia Pietatis. He was ordained either before he came to America in 1694 or during a later visit to Germany (1698-1700) on a mission of high importance to the province. By his vivid descriptions of Pennsylvania he encouraged other Germans to cross the sea. Accompanied by his brother Justus and others, he returned to Germantown in 1700. In his possession he had a document discharging Pastorius and conferring upon himself the agency of the colony which led to bitter conflict between the two men. But eventually (1708) Falckner became a victim of the intrigues of his own business partners. He was imprisoned and lost all he had. He had organized and served a congregation in Falckner's Swamp (New Hanover, Pa.). But now, broken in spirit, he left Pennsylvania, and went to New Jersey, serving several congregations along the Raritan River. Of these congregations organized or served by him account will be given later. He was still living in 1741, but the time of his death and his final resting place are unknown.

Justus Falckner (born 1672), brother of Daniel, had been a student under Christian Thomasius and August Hermann Francke. As a student he composed the hymn, "Auf, ihr

Christen, Christi Glieder" (Rise, ye children of salvation). In 1700 he settled with his brother Daniel in the quiet woods of Germantown having been granted power of attorney by the Frankfort Land Company. He was called out of his seclusion by Pastor Rudman to become minister of the Dutch congregation in New York. In 1703 he was ordained in the Gloria Dei Church of Wicaco by the Swedish clergymen, his hermit Pietistic brethren furnishing the music of the service and liturgy. This was the first Lutheran ordination in America.² He went immediately to New York. His work there will be noted in the account of the Dutch congregation. He served faithfully until his death in 1723. He was a man of strong Lutheran convictions and a devoted pastor.

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2. Germans in New York and New Jersey

The ministry of Justus Falckner in the Dutch congregation in New York lasted twenty years. His devotion to his task is shown by the short prayers which he added to entries of official acts in his parish records. The following prayer is added to the record of a baptism: "O Lord God, let the name of this infant be inscribed in the book of life and never be erased therefrom! Through Jesus Christ, Amen." After baptizing a colored child, he comments: "O Lord, merciful Father, who art no respecter of persons, but considerest acceptable among all people those who do right and fear Thee,

² Rudman in his correspondence with Falckner cites as precedent the ordination of Abelius Zetscoorn in America. There is no other record of such ordination. See: Sachse, *Justus Falckner*, footnote page 55.

clothe this child with the white robe of righteousness, and keep it in the same through Jesus Christ, the Redeemer and Saviour of all mankind. Amen." How appropriate, too, the baptismal prayer for five infants born on the ocean to immigrant mothers from the Rhenish Palatinate: "O Lord, Almighty God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose wondrous power has safely called these children into life even amid the storms of the sea and has guided them safely to shore, lead them also through the tempestuous sea of this world until they arrive safely in the harbor of the new heavenly Jerusalem where all tyranny and all false and tyrannical mercy shall have an end, through Jesus Christ. Amen."

The congregation prospered under his care. Many Germans were added to its membership. After the death of Falckner, his large parish extending from New York to Albany was cared for temporarily by his brother Daniel. Meanwhile the New York congregation petitioned the Lutheran Consistory of Amsterdam for a pastor. A call was extended to William Christopher Berkenmeyer, then a theological candidate in Hamburg, who accepted. In 1725 he was ordained in Amsterdam and immediately left for New York. He was a man of thorough culture, strict Lutheran convictions and of a pleasing presence. He soon had the confidence of the people. He had brought with him a small library and funds for building a new church. The new building was consecrated in June, 1729, and was known as Trinity Church. With the arrival of Pastor Michael Christian Knoll, Berkenmeyer divided his large parish taking the northern part for himself with Loonenburg as his headquarters. Knoll began his work in 1732 continuing for eighteen years. It was a disturbed period. The Germans who were much in the majority began making requests for services in their language. A division finally occurred in 1750, one part following John Friedrich Ries to found Christ Church. The affairs of the congregation took on a different aspect under the direction of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, 1751-1753, who induced John Albert Weygand to take charge of the work. His successor in 1770 was Bernhard Michael Hausihl. German succeeded Dutch as the language of the congregation in 1771. A fire in the city in 1776 destroyed the church. Hausihl's Tory activity compelled him to move to Halifax when the British troops left New York in 1783.

The ardent patriot pastor of Christ Church, young Frederick Muhlenberg, had fled from New York some years earlier when the British had entered. Now that both churches were vacant, they united in 1784 and called Dr. J. C. Kunze to be their pastor. At this point the history of the New York Ministerium begins. The German Christ Church had been served during its brief history by Ries, Rapp, Wisner, Schaeffer, Kurz, Bager, Gerock, and Frederick A. C. Muhlenberg.

The history of the congregations in New Jersey and Albany parallels that of the New York congregation in that they gradually changed from Dutch to German congregations. Ebenezer congregation in Albany began under Fabritius in 1668. It shared with New York the services of Arensius, Rudman, Falckner, Berkenmeyer and Knoll. Later pastors were Schwerdfeger and Moeller. In New Jersey congregations were in existence in 1700 in Hackensack, Raritan, and Ramapo. Except for the period when Daniel Falckner was their pastor, they were part of the parish of the New York pastors and were served by them.

Before the first decade of the eighteenth century had passed, a new stage of German immigration had set in. No part of Germany had suffered as much as the Palatinate along the Rhine. Repeatedly in the Thirty Years War and thereafter until 1700 this territory had been devastated. Louis XIV, realizing that he could not retain this province, decided to ravage it with fire and sword. His general informed the inhabitants, numbering 500,000, that they were to leave within three days if they desired to escape death. Thus in mid-winter the snow-clad hills were black with fugitives who, looking back, discovered their possessions, their cities, villages, orchards and vineyards in smoke and ruins. Some of the fugitives found a temporary refuge in England, where Queen Anne arranged for their emigration to America. They were joined by large numbers who emigrated from Wurtemberg, Baden, and Hesse to settle in America.

On New Year's Day 1701 one of the first groups of these immigrants arrived in New York under the leadership of Rev. Joshua Kocherthal, a Lutheran pastor. By an order of Queen Anne this congregation, consisting of sixty-one people, settled on the west bank of the Hudson River near Newburgh, where

the queen had granted them two thousand acres of land. German immigration had now only begun. On July 10, 1710, there arrived in New York eleven ships carrying 3000 immigrants, 700 of whom had died during the stormy voyage or while placed under quarantine. The survivors settled on the banks of the Hudson. Here they were to pay heavily with the hardest kind of labor for the benefits they had received from the English crown. Avaricious Governor Hunter took advantage of them and used them for purposes of getting rich quick. The settlers soon suffered from hunger and want.³ Some of them went westward into the Schoharie Valley where they purchased land from the Indians. Immigrants who arrived later settled all along the Hudson. This meant a number of new congregations. In all of these settlements Kocherthal was the pastor. Unceasingly, until his death, he bore the temporal and spiritual welfare of his scattered flock on faithful shoulders. He died in 1719. His burial place is in West Camp.

Justus Falckner carried on the work until 1723. His successor in New York, Berkenmeyer, later gave all his energies to these congregations up the Hudson at East Camp, Rhinebeck, Loonenburg, West Camp, Newburgh, Schoharie and elsewhere. His successor was Pastor Knoll. Peter Nicolas Sommer, Berkenmeyer's son-in-law, also a native of Hamburg, was chiefly engaged in work in the Schoharie Valley. He was an able, though modest man. Though blind for twenty years, he performed his duties faithfully to the end. In this little

³ Rev. Geo. J. M. Ketner writes at the bicentennial anniversary of St. Paul's Lutheran Church at West Camp: "Unwillingly they bound themselves for years to the British Governor, Robert Hunter, to pay for their voyage by making tar for the British navy. . . . The pine trees at West Camp were not the kind for making naval stores. . . . It was making brick without straw. In a howling wilderness, in log cabins and bark huts, with scant clothes and little food, they suffered and shivered in the winter's cold, and struggled to keep soul and body together. The cries of their little ones, the tears of their wives made the strong men weep. Governor Hunter disputed the titles to their homes and persecuted them incessantly. So neglected were they at one time by the man who was sworn to be their protector that much against their wills they had to throw themselves on the mercy of the Indians, or starve. . . . It was not until 1717 that the awful traces of poverty began to disappear among them. . . . No wonder they complained and started a mutiny. The only place, where, for the time being, they forgot their sorrows and wrongs, was in the little log church where Pastor Kocherthal comforted them with such consolations as the holy religion of Jesus Christ alone could give."

circle of ministers, Berkenmeyer was the most talented. The period of their activity runs parallel to that of Muhlenberg and his co-workers in Pennsylvania, and also to that of the Salzburg missionaries along the Savannah River in Georgia. The Berkenmeyer circle persistently refused to have fellowship with the circle that had come from Halle, owing, no doubt, to the Pietistic controversies which at that time agitated the theological world of Germany. In this controversy Berkenmeyer took a strong position on the side of stricter Lutheranism.⁴

In the period following the work of Knoll and Sommer these congregations of Palatinate immigrants, as well as congregations at Guilderland, Helderburg and Berne in Albany County, were served by Albany pastors until such time as more pastors were available. By the time of the organization of the New York Ministerium, the supply of pastors had materially increased.

NOTE: Among the emigrants from the Rhenish Palatinate who came to New York in 1710 was John Conrad Weiser, Sr., who soon distinguished himself by looking after the welfare of his suffering countrymen. To protect property rights of the new settlement in the Schoharie Valley he journeyed to England, but was robbed by pirates, imprisoned in England, and returned home broken in health. He died in 1746.

Better known is his son, John Conrad Weiser, Jr. Born 1696, he arrived with his father in New York. When seventeen years old he followed an Indian chief who had been visiting at his father's house, and whom he greatly admired. He was with the Indians eight months and later fifteen years, acquiring their language and studying their customs. This enabled him to render most useful services to his countrymen at the time when he became head of the Indian bureau of the English government of Pennsylvania, serving from 1732 to the year of his death in 1760. During the Indian war and at the conclusion of peace he looked after the interests of the German colony. His daughter, Anna Maria, became the wife of the patriarch Muhlenberg.

⁴ The Berkenmeyer circle drew up an agreement in the nature of a constitution binding them to all the Symbolical Books. See Kretzmann, *Atlantic District and Its Antecedents*, pp. 8, 9.

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3. Germans in Georgia and the Carolinas

Among the early Lutheran settlers of the Southern states the Salzburg immigrants of Georgia play a prominent part. The fanatical archbishop, Leopold Anton of Salzburg in the Alpine districts of Austria, having tried in vain to exterminate the Lutheran Church in his diocese, resorted to intrigue. He claimed to be tolerant, and asked everyone to put their confessional preferences on record. Thus he discovered thirty thousand "Evangelicals." Realizing that they had been trapped, three hundred of them formed the "Salzbund" (Salt-Confederacy), vowing that, though they were forced to a diet of salt and bread, they would not prove untrue to their religious convictions. This action furnished the foundation for the charge that the Evangelicals had decided upon the overthrow of the Catholic Church. On October 31, 1731, there was issued a decree of emigration: all those refusing to become Catholics were ordered to emigrate and leave behind their children not of age. In vain did the Salzburgers appeal to the Emperor and to the Protestant princes. Only Frederick William of Prussia pleaded their cause and invited twenty thousand of them to settle in Lithuania. With wounded hearts, but with hymns of praise on their lips, they wandered through the cities and villages of Germany singing the song composed by Schaitberger, the leader of a former exile:

An exile poor, and nothing more,
This is my sole profession;
Banished from home, of God's pure word
To make a clear confession.

O Jesus mine, I know full well
This is the way Thou wentest.
Thy steps we'll follow, dearest Lord,
And bear what Thou hast sent us.

So forth I go from my dear home,
O Lord, the tears are starting;
As through strange streets I press my way
I think of the sad parting.

A country, Lord, I ask of Thee,
Where I Thy Word may cherish,
Where, day and night, within my heart
The fruits of faith may flourish.

(From Jacobs, *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*, page 154).

A considerable number of these Salzburg exiles emigrated to America. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Urlsperger of Augsburg, interceding for them at London, prevailed on the Trustees of the colony to give them free passage to Georgia, to give them grants of land, to confer on them the rights of English citizenship, and give them freedom of worship. All these promises have been faithfully kept.

General Oglethorpe welcomed them at Charleston early in March 1734. Within a few days they were encamped near Savannah. Gratefully recognizing God's gracious guidance, they called the place of their settlement Ebenezer. Other Salzburgers arrived during the following year, thus increasing the population of the colony to two hundred. Others came from time to time. According to the secretary of the Trustees of the colony, twelve hundred German Protestants had settled in Georgia up to 1741.

These people prospered in their new home. Under their thrifty hands the virgin forest became a blossoming garden. The four churches, Jerusalem, Zion, Bethany and Goshen, served their spiritual wants, and their ministers, John Martin Bolzius and Israel Christian Gronau, who had been trained at Halle and had accompanied them across the sea, were pastors in the true sense of the word. Every Sunday they held two or three services, and every evening, their tasks done and supper over, the people gathered in their churches to receive some

religious instruction, the children in the catechism, the grown-ups in the Bible. During the first baptism all the children of the congregation were called to the altar to have this sacrament explained to them. From the ministerial reports sent to Dr. Urlsperger at Augsburg we gather that everywhere in this settlement Biblical teaching produced glorious results. The people freely forgave those who had wronged them; scenes of death were transfigured with rays of triumph, and even young children fought the good fight of faith. No secular authority was needed. All disputes were settled by their spiritual leaders, who were universally recognized as fathers. The community of Ebenezer remained free from the polluting influences of the outside world. It was truly ruled by Christ.

When Pastor Gronau died, Hermann Henry Lemcke was sent from Germany to be his successor. Somewhat later Christian Rabenhorst was sent over and with him came a group of Germans from Wurtemberg. But Christopher F. Triebner, successor to Lemcke, stirred up trouble in the colony by his dictatorial manner so that Muhlenberg's presence was necessary to restore peace. Disaster came to the settlement, however, due to the Tory sympathies of Triebner. Because these Germans supported the Colonial cause, sending three companies of men into the Colonial army, the British led by Triebner invaded Ebenezer and destroyed much property. Many people were compelled to leave their homes and to settle in the country. Jerusalem church was used first as a hospital and later as a stable. The profligate life of the soldiers wrought havoc with the morals of the settlement. When the British withdrew, many of the settlers returned to rebuild their homes. The church was cleansed and business started anew. But the old glory had gone. The former peace and pure state of morals did not return. Bethany church fell into decay. European support of their church work decreased. Rev. John Ernest Bergmann, the last pastor to come from Germany to Ebenezer, arrived in 1785 but was barely able to hold things together. Goshen church was lost to the Methodists. The church which had been organized in Savannah was closed from 1804 to 1824, when it was reorganized and connected with the South Carolina Synod by the Rev. Dr. John Bachman. When Christopher F. Bergmann succeeded his father, he drew the Ebenezer churches into the South

Carolina Synod. The descendants of the Salzburgers today constitute a definite and important element in the churches of the Georgia Synod.

References

Strobel, *The Salzburgers and their Descendants*, pp. 25-72, 90-106, 125-163, 195-254.

Stephens, *History of Georgia*, vol. I, pp. 105-114, 362-364.

Bancroft, *History of the United States of America*, vol. II, pp. 284-286.

Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, vol. I, pp. 234-247, 295.

Finck, *Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America*, pp. 121-147.

The first noteworthy settlement of Germans in North Carolina was at New Berne in 1710. These were six hundred fifty Palatines who accompanied a migration of Swiss under Baron de Graffenreid, joining them in England. This settlement, however, was almost wiped out by an Indian massacre in 1711. Those who survived were few and scattered, and though they may have been Lutherans, they came under the care of the Church of England.

Between 1745 and 1750 there began a migration of considerable proportions from the German settlements in Pennsylvania to the central and western parts of North Carolina. As the farm lands in eastern Pennsylvania became occupied or claimed, the pioneers, instead of crossing the mountains westward, turned south to occupy land in North Carolina as yet unclaimed and unoccupied. They travelled as pioneers did in those days, transporting their household goods in wagons and driving their live stock ahead of them.

Since these settlers were farmers and did not establish towns, a considerable period elapsed before the population was sufficiently numerous to organize congregations. Zion (Organ) Church in Rowan County and St. John's in Cabarrus County are first in the records. When the town of Salisbury was founded, St. John's Church was organized there. Other congregations sprang up in Lincoln, Catawba, Iredell, Stokes, Davidson and Guilford Counties.

In 1772 occurred an event of great importance for the Lutheran Church in North Carolina. Zion (Organ) Church in Rowan County and St. John's Church in Cabarrus County had tried in vain to secure a pastor from Pennsylvania. So they determined to appeal to Germany. Christopher Rintleman of Organ Church and Christopher Layerly of St. John's Church at their own expense went to Europe in 1772 to seek a pastor. They visited London, England, and Hannover, Germany, making their plea so successfully that they returned in 1773 with the Rev. Adolphus Nussman as their pastor and Mr. John Gottfried Arends (Arndt) as their school teacher. Nussman, the first Lutheran pastor in North Carolina, was a thorough scholar and a devoted pastor and missionary. He laid the foundations of the Lutheran Church in that state, cultivating a wide territory and organizing the congregations which later formed the Synod of North Carolina. Arends was ordained in Organ Church in 1775 by the Rev. Joachim Buelow of South Carolina, and worked together with Nussman for many years. In response to appeals from Nussman, the Helmstedt Missionary Society sent to his assistance in 1788 the Rev. Charles Augustus Gottlieb Storch, a man of strong personality. The Rev. Christian Eberhard Bernhardt from Wurtemberg came to Rowan County in 1787. Other pastors in this state prior to the founding of the synod were Arnold Roschen, Robert Johnson Miller and Paul Henkel.

Under their care the number of congregations in North Carolina multiplied. Nor were their labors limited to that state, but spread to surrounding states. Theirs was a truly missionary spirit. During their ministry congregations were organized and served in western North Carolina and Tennessee which later formed the Tennessee Synod.

References

Bernheim & Cox, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and Ministerium of North Carolina*, pp. 9-20.

Bernheim, *German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in the Carolinas*, pp. 67-81, 148-154, 239-262, 266, 311-349.

Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, vol. I, pp. 212ff, 228-231.

At an early date Dutch settlers from New Amsterdam, who were probably Lutherans, had come to South Carolina. Palatines and other Germans settled at various times at Charleston and Orangeburg, South Carolina. Through the years the state received a steady trickle of German immigration from Europe, whose numbers were augmented by redemptioners—persons who were sold for a few years' service to pay for their ocean-passage. During the Revolutionary War numbers of Hessians deserted the British and hid themselves in the German Carolina settlements and remained there. The Salzburgers discovered Germans in Charleston as they passed through in 1734. The German settlers came to Orangeburg as early as 1735. There are evidences of German settlers in Saxe-Gotha Township, Lexington County, in 1737. The settlement of Germans at Hard Labor Creek, Abbeville County, was made in 1763 or 1764.

The first congregation in South Carolina was at Orangeburg. It was served by John Ulrich Giessendanner, a lay-preacher, who arrived in the colony in 1737, and whose status as a Lutheran is in doubt. His successor, a nephew bearing the same name, led the congregation into the Church of England. It ceased to exist about the time of the Revolutionary War.

The oldest Lutheran congregation still in existence is St. John's at Charleston. The organization was sufficiently strong in 1753 to petition the government for a church site. The Rev. John George Friedericks became the first regular pastor of the congregation in 1755. A building was begun in 1759 and completed and dedicated in 1764 during the pastorate of the Rev. John Nicholas Martin. When troubles arose a few years later in the congregation, the peace-maker was the Patriarch Muhlenberg. Men from this church joined the Colonial Army and at one time their pastor was held prisoner by the British. After the war, the pastor was John Charles Faber.

St. Matthew's Church in Amelia Township, Orangeburg County, whose date of organization is given as 1745, was probably founded by the Rev. John Giessendanner and served for a time by Reformed pastors. In 1760 the Rev. John G. Friedericks became pastor. The records of the churches in Saxe-Gotha Township, Lexington County, are very few. At

one time these congregations were served by Pastors Lewis Hochheimer and John Nicholas Martin. Zion Church, founded 1745, is still in existence. Nine other congregations still in existence in Lexington County or just across the line in Newberry and Richland Counties, were founded before 1800, but their early history is obscure.

In the year 1787 there was organized what was known as the "Corpus Evangelicum," a body composed of nine Lutheran and six Reformed congregations. Its object seems to have been the proper organization and incorporation of congregations. The organization was short lived, nothing being heard of it after the year 1794.

In 1803 the Lutheran congregations in South Carolina were without pastors. In other neglected settlements many people were lost to the church, or were gathered during the periods of revivals into the Methodist and Baptist churches. Some Lutheran congregations remained alive by using supply pastors from other denominations. A few pastors were secured from North Carolina and later the North Carolina Synod took an interest in the South Carolina churches. With the coming of the Rev. John Bachman to the church in Charleston in 1815 conditions took a turn for the better in the Lutheran Church of the state. The congregations were showing much improvement by the time of the organization of the South Carolina Synod in 1824.

References

Bernheim, *German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in the Carolinas*, pp. 56-67, 81-88, 99-108, 118-147, 161-174, 205-238, 288-310, 359-365, 411-412, 415-425.

Lutherans in Colonial Days, p. 88.

Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, vol. I, pp. 215-228.

Voigt, *The German and German-Swiss Element in South Carolina 1732-1752*, pp. 6, 10, 52, 53.

4. Germans in Maryland and Virginia

The first Lutherans in Maryland were not Germans but Swedes. They settled in Cecil County in 1645 as part of the Swedish colony on the Delaware. They built a church in the

year 1649. But with the capture of New Sweden by the Dutch this Maryland settlement fades from view.

German immigration into Maryland and Virginia came both directly from Europe and from Pennsylvania. At the time when settlement in the land west of the Susquehanna was not permitted, many Germans moved into the unoccupied lands to the south. The governors of these colonies offered special inducements in the form of grants of land and temporary exemption from taxation to secure settlers.

In Maryland the first settlement of Lutherans was made in 1727 in the Monocacy Valley. The congregation organized there was visited by the Rev. John Caspar Stoeve, Jr., in 1733. A church was built there in 1734. Stoeve visited the congregation regularly until 1743. He was succeeded by David Candler, a schoolmaster, who cared for the congregations at York and Monocacy and established churches at Conewago and Frederick. When trouble with the Moravians arose, the Patriarch Muhlenberg visited the congregation to settle the differences. About 1750 direct immigration from Europe increased the population and the congregation prospered under Bernhard Michael Hausihl, the first settled pastor. But the Monocacy congregation was overshadowed by the rapidly growing congregation in the town of Frederick and united with it in 1810.

The Conococheague settlement sprang up from immigration from Pennsylvania in 1735. A church was built jointly by Lutherans and Reformed and served by itinerant pastors. This congregation became linked with the one in Hagerstown in 1772.

Zion Church in Baltimore had a feeble beginning and very slow growth, being dependent on immigration from Europe. In 1755 it had as pastor John George Bager, pastor at Hanover. A building was erected in 1762. The first settled pastor was John Caspar Kirchner. The congregation enjoyed great prosperity under John Siegfried Gerok and John Daniel Kurtz. But it was subsequently lost to the Lutheran Church under the influence of a rationalist pastor. It is now independent but served by a pastor of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

Settlers from Pennsylvania established congregations at Middletown, on Antietam Creek, at Emmitsburg, at Man-

chester and many other places in these early days. By the end of the century many new churches had come into existence and were served by pastors of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

The oldest Lutheran Church in Virginia is Hebron in Madison County. A group of about eighty Germans in dire straits landed on the Virginia coast in 1717. To pay for their ocean passage they sold themselves to Governor Spottswood and settled on his land. When their years of service were complete they moved from their first settlement near Germania to Madison County in 1725 and there erected a log church. It is possible that Anthony Jacob Henkel visited them, but the elder John Caspar Stoever was the first pastor in 1732. This pastor with two elders went to Germany in 1734 to gather funds for a new church. They succeeded in this mission and induced George Samuel Klug to become a pastor in Virginia. Stoever died on the return voyage and Klug became his successor. A new church was built in 1740 and is still standing. Subsequent pastors to 1821 were John Schwarbach, Jacob Frank, William Carpenter and Michael Meyerhoeffer.

The church at Woodstock in the Shenandoah Valley began its existence about 1772. There the ardent patriot, Pastor Peter Muhlenberg, enacted that dramatic scene in 1776 when, at the close of a service, he threw back his clerical robe and stood forth in the uniform of an army officer, calling for volunteers to follow him in the Colonial Army. The congregation at Winchester was organized in 1753 and was served first by Christian Streit, noted chaplain in the Colonial Army. The New Market Church began under the ministry of Paul Henkel in 1790. The congregation at Martinsburg was organized in 1779 and many other churches came into existence in the state of Virginia before the organizing of the Synod of Maryland and Virginia.

In 1781 The Ministerium of Pennsylvania, to which these pastors in Virginia and Maryland belonged, arranged a system of Special Conferences in remote districts for the convenience and encouragement of pastors who could attend synod only with great difficulty. The Virginia Conference, which included Maryland pastors, was in existence as early as 1793. The Conference met to cultivate piety, study doctrine, and provide lay-readers and pastoral care for vacant congregations.

It was this Conference that was organized into the Synod of Maryland and Virginia.

References

- Wentz, *History of the Maryland Synod*, pp. 11-42.
 Huddle, *History of Hebron Lutheran Church, Madison County, Va.*, pp. 1-57.
 Finck, *Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America*, pp. 80-90, 158-178.
 Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, vol. I, pp. 168-170, 181ff., 292.

5. Lutherans on the Frontier

The rising population of the colonies increasingly overflowed westward. Pioneer emigration moved westward in Pennsylvania and thence into Ohio, westward in Virginia and into Kentucky, from the Carolinas west and north into Tennessee and Ohio, and from the Hudson River toward the lakes. The movement received impetus from the conquest of French power with its attendant Indian outrages, and the establishment of British frontier forts as illustrated by the conquest of Fort Pitt by General Forbes in 1758. The treaty with the Iroquois in 1768 put an end to Indian hostilities. Later treaties opened new land, and new states were laid out, in which the land policy of the government was very liberal. Then came the gradual development of roads, later the building of canals, and finally steam navigation, all of which encouraged pioneering.

Wave after wave of migration moved westward up to and over the mountains. The pioneers were both residents of the colonies and immigrants from Europe making their first settlement. With the beginning of the building of the Erie Canal settlers moved westward in New York from the valley of the Hudson. Allegheny, Washington, Westmoreland, Indiana, Armstrong, and other counties in western Pennsylvania began to have settlements of Germans. In Ohio in the period 1802-1805 German settlements were made in Jefferson, Stark, Columbiana, Montgomery, Pickaway, Fairfield, and other counties.

In these early settlements the congregations formed were without formal organization in most cases. In practically all

of these German settlements the Lutheran congregation shared with the Reformed the title and use of the church property. The first Lutheran congregations organized in western Pennsylvania were Zion Church in Harold's settlement, Westmoreland County, in 1772, and Jacob's Church in Fayette County in 1773. The first in Ohio was Good Hope Church at Osage, Jefferson County, organized provisionally in 1804 and permanently in 1805, where John Stauch was the first pastor. At the time of the organization of the Ohio Synod in 1818 there were thirty-nine congregations in western Pennsylvania, the list including congregations at Greensburg, Ligonier, Washington, Indiana, Erie, and Butler. At an early date there were congregations in the vicinity of Seneca Lake in New York. These congregations and others in western New York were gradually absorbed into the New York Ministerium as that body extended its territory. The pioneer congregations in Tennessee likewise were in contact with the parent congregations.

Frontier privations included a lack of the ministry of the church. The congregations in many instances welcomed the services of school teachers who were men of education and piety. Later there came catechists and candidates for ordination in eastern synods who served the scattered congregations faithfully. At a later time traveling missionaries from eastern churches travelled through the settlements periodically administering the means of grace, until such time as permanent pastors were available. The Pennsylvania Ministerium had such a plan in 1805. This latter group of pioneer pastors is represented by such men as Anton Luetge, John Stauch, John Christian Friedrich Heyer, and John Michael Steck in Pennsylvania, Paul Henkel in Kentucky, West Virginia and Ohio, Robert Johnson Miller and John George Butler in Virginia and Tennessee, and Lot Merkel in New York.

References

Wentz, *The Lutheran Church in American History*, 2d Ed., pp. 102ff.

Burgess, *Memorial History of the Pittsburgh Synod*, pp. 14ff, 23, 29ff, 51ff, 74.

Bernheim, *German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in the Carolinas*, pp. 378, 392.

Nicum, *Geschichte des New York Ministeriums*, p. 109.

Wolf, *The Lutherans in America*, pp. 308ff., 380.

Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, vol. XXIII, pp. 162-218.

6. Germans in Pennsylvania

Campanius says that there were German members of the original Swedish colony on the Delaware. No less than 54 German families came with Governor Printz to this colony. Other Germans had come from time to time but their number was much augmented under the activity of the Frankfort Land Company. It was at Falckner's Swamp (New Hanover) that the first German Lutheran congregation was organized and the first German Lutheran Church built. It is generally believed that the largest part of the settlers in Falckner's Swamp immigrated with Daniel Falckner in 1700, were organized by him into a congregation, and received his pastoral services until 1708. The exact date of the erection of the first church is not known. According to Sandel it was in existence in 1704. It was no doubt a log church which had to be replaced by another log building in 1721 and another in 1741. The present church of this historic congregation, although now completely remodeled, was built in 1767. In the period before the forming of the synod this congregation had the pastoral services of Daniel Falckner, Anthony Jacob Henkel, J. C. Schulze, John Caspar Stoever, Jr., Gabriel Falk, and Muhlenberg.

The congregation at Philadelphia was founded about the time of the coming of the Stoevers in 1728. It was a flourishing congregation in 1733 under John Christian Schulze. The congregation at New Providence was founded under the care of Schulze and the younger Stoever about 1832. At this place young Stoever was ordained by Schulze. The building erected by Muhlenberg in 1745 is still standing.

The congregation at Tulpehocken was formed of immigrants from the Rhenish Palatinate who moved out of the Schoharie Valley in New York. As soon as these thrifty settlers, after escaping from the extortions of the New York governors, had cultivated their new possessions in the Schoharie Valley, they were informed that the contracts they had

made with the Indians for their land were null and void. Unscrupulous speculators of New York had fraudulently acquired title to these lands, and the settlers were forced either to rent from these land-sharks or seek other quarters. Many of them decided to emigrate again and to accept the invitation of Governor Keith of Pennsylvania. Led by friendly Indians, they journeyed three hundred miles along the Susquehanna River and settled in 1723 at Tulpehocken, near Reading. News of their experience reaching Germany caused the great stream of emigration from that country to be diverted from New York to Pennsylvania. The date of the organization of the Tulpehocken congregation practically coincides with the date of the settlement. Pastor Henkel likely visited the congregation and for a time Stoevers, jr., was pastor there. But trouble came early to the congregation because of irresponsible pastors and the invasion of sectarianism especially under the influence of Zinzendorf. This trouble, known as the "Tulpehocken Confusion," lasted over a number of years and resulted in a division in the congregation and the building of two churches.

At this particular time German immigration had reached a high water mark. It was largely caused by men called "Newlanders" who had been in America and made a business of inducing others to start for the new country. The emigrants had to sign contracts printed in English, and therefore unintelligible to them, which placed them altogether in the hands of these slave-dealers. Only those who paid for their passage were permitted to leave the ship in America. Those unable to do this were hired out—practically sold—to residents in the colonies. By long years of toil they repaid the costs of their passage across the ocean. Some were forced into conditions of hardship, others found good positions. The people thus hired out or sold were known as "Redemptioners."

Germantown received its share of the immigrants and had a Lutheran congregation at an early date probably organized by the younger Stoevers. The largest and strongest of the churches in these early days was organized by this same pastor in 1729 at Lancaster. It has had a prosperous and honorable career. Other preaching stations or congregations at this period were located at various places in York, Lebanon, Lancaster, Berks, Lehigh, Bucks and Adams counties. Dr. Schmauk says, "Lutheran congregations begin to rise into

vision gradually, now here, now there, one after the other, as, after twilight, stars begin to come out in the evening sky. It is wonderful to note this independent and gradual birth and springing up of congregations, without any outside stimulus or inspiration, here and there throughout the whole territory."

This large territory was served by but few ministers, of whom the most important were Anthony Jacob Henkel and John Caspar Stoever, senior and junior. No wonder a vast amount of religious degeneration was soon in evidence. Zinzendorf remarks that blasphemers were accused of having "the Pennsylvania religion."

Anthony Jacob Henkel (who has been confused with his son Gerhard) came to America with his family as an exile in 1717. He made Falckner's Swamp his residence, reviving church activity there and ministering to congregations and families in all the surrounding territory. He did vigorous pioneer work until the time of his death in 1728.

The two Stoevers, father and son, came to America in 1728. They were close relatives of John Philip Fresenius, who took a warm interest in the founding of the Lutheran Church in America.

John Caspar Stoever, Sr., who is supposed to have organized the noted St. Michael's congregation of Philadelphia, was pastor at Spottsylvania, Virginia, in 1732. He was ordained by Schulze in 1733. His annual salary was three thousand pounds of tobacco. In 1734 the congregation sent him with two laymen on a fund raising trip to Germany. He collected three thousand pounds sterling for church purposes and induced a theological student, George Samuel Klug, to be ordained for work in Virginia. On his way back to Virginia in 1738, Stoever died and was buried at sea.

Of greater interest is the name of the son, John Caspar Stoever. He was only twenty-one years old when he arrived in America in 1728. Though not ordained, he performed many ministerial acts simply because at that time there was a scarcity of ordained ministers. In the year 1731 he went to Raritan, N. J., and asked the aging Daniel Falckner to ordain him. Falckner declined. Two years later he was ordained by Pastor Schulze of Philadelphia, whose congregation he was to serve during the latter's trip to Germany. This was the second ordination on American soil and took place in New Provi-

dence in the barn which was the congregational place of worship. Stoever traveled through the length and breadth of the colony, and wherever he found any scattered Lutherans, he organized them into congregations. Almost all the preaching places mentioned above were established by him, and whenever he performed any ministerial acts he recorded them in church registers, so that the historian of today has no difficulty in tracing his unceasing activity. He did not stand on good terms with Muhlenberg and his followers. Not until 1763 did he join the synod they had organized. Although devoted to his work and a loyal Lutheran and in spite of his self-denying missionary trips, we discern in him a somewhat mercenary view of the ministerial office. He lacked the deep devotion, the passion for souls and the far-seeing eye of Muhlenberg, who ever urged beyond a mere local activity the greater goal of Lutheran organization. He was pastor at Lebanon, Pa., when he died suddenly in 1779 during a service of confirmation at the age of seventy-five years. His life was eventful, and revealed the strong features of the Lutheran pioneer.

Such pastoral activity, however devoted, was too meagre to supply the spiritual needs of the multitudes of Germans settling in the colony. As family worship became neglected the children grew up in a worldly manner, indifferent to religion. The religious activity prevalent was sectarian and heretical. Quakers, Mennonites, Seventh Day Baptists, Inspirationists, Separatists, Hermits, Newborn and other sects abounded. The Dunker movement began in 1723. Religious excitement reached a climax in the arrival of Count Zinzendorf and George Whitfield. In 1743 Muhlenberg wrote: "It seems as if now were the time in which God would visit us in Pennsylvania with His special grace. It is indeed high time. If it had remained thus a few years more, our poor Lutherans would have been wholly scattered and gone into heathenism."

7. An Eventful Step

While thus the ministerial supply was at a very low ebb, three congregations joined in an enterprise which in God's wise Providence resulted in the immigration of a man whose personality has meant innumerable blessings for the Lutheran

Church in America. A delegation was sent in 1734 from Philadelphia, New Providence (Trappe) and New Hanover (Falckner's Swamp) to Pastor Ziegenhagen, court preacher at London, and to Prof. Dr. A. G. Francke, son of August Hermann Francke, of Halle, for the purpose of raising church building funds. More particularly were they to secure an able clergyman. These negotiations extended over a long period. Francke and Ziegenhagen insisted that the question of salary would have to be settled; the delegates explained that this could not be done until the minister had entered the field. The case was argued for several years. But finally the authorities of Halle decided to act. They sent the very man needed for the work among the Lutherans of Pennsylvania, the Reverend Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. This man was destined to become the real founder of the Lutheran Church in America.

8. Zinzendorf and the Lutherans

One reason why Muhlenberg's coming was so opportune was the appearance on American soil of Count von Zinzendorf, a spiritual leader who had accomplished great good in Germany, but whose work wrought confusion among the Lutherans of Pennsylvania. Having been exiled from Saxony, Zinzendorf had decided to use the time of his expatriation to do missionary work, and late in 1741 came to America. Thus he learned of the spiritual needs of the Pennsylvania Lutherans. He made Germantown his headquarters, and thence he traversed the country in every direction. He held a conference in 1742 with four Seventh-day Baptists of Ephrata, some other Baptists and Mennonites, some Lutherans and some Reformed. His aim was to unite them all. He attracted the attention of the Philadelphia Lutherans. They called him and he accepted. He preached for them, administered the sacraments, and accepting their call became their pastor. At the same time he looked after the Reformed, ordained a pastor and prepared a catechism for them just as he had previously published Luther's Catechism for the Lutherans. Although he held eight conferences for the purpose of uniting the various churches, the more he labored, the worse the confusion. The Reformed Pastor Boehme warned against him in a special pamphlet of some ninety pages. Zinzendorf finally realized that in order to attain results he would have to organize his

followers. He founded the Moravian Brotherhood (Unitas Fratrum) whose congregations are found today in certain parts of Pennsylvania.

The theologians of Halle were determined opponents of Zinzendorf. While they recognized that he was educated in the school of Pietism, the Halle school of theology, they feared his methods would confuse earnest souls. Moreover, they did not wish to be held responsible by their opponents in the Pietistic controversies for the eccentricities of their pupil. Not without apprehension had they seen him enter upon his mission to America. This doubtless had some effect in the matter of their sending a pastor to Pennsylvania. When Muhlenberg, arriving in Charleston, S. C., heard of the confusion Zinzendorf was creating, he set out for Philadelphia as soon as possible.

9. Review

Looking back over the history of Lutheranism thus far recorded, we notice one outstanding fact: that, while scattered congregations were starting here and there, there was no sign, except among the Swedes, of a general organization.

The mission of this period was to gather Lutheran families into congregations, and this mission had been partly accomplished. In the affairs of the Swedes the home church took an active interest from the beginning. In the case of the emigrants from the Palatinate, Kocherthal, aided by England, had done the work. The Salzburgers were taken care of by the German Lutherans and the English government. But a great number had to help themselves. Individuals got together, and, appealing to their native land, tried to secure ministers. Since clergymen were scarce, spiritual vagabonds and men of the lowest character took advantage of the situation.

A small number of congregations came into existence, but there was no thought of incorporating them into a larger body. The tendency was toward dispersion and an eventual absorption of these scattered flocks by denominational churches. Zinzendorf, though personally devout, saw a chance of building up his own church.

It was most essential for the Lutheran Church that the scattered congregations should be gathered into a larger organization, that they should rally around the banner of the

Lutheran faith, and that they should be supplied with worthy and reliable ministers. The time had come for the organization of the church. This supreme duty of the second period of Lutheran development was clearly recognized and admirably performed by—Henry Melchior Muhlenberg.

References

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Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, vol. I, pp. 61-65.

Finck, *Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America*, pp. 91-101, 110-120.

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THE SECOND PERIOD

ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST SYNODS

During the period which we are now to study the scattered flocks were gathered into organic unity. A part of the Lutheran Church became organized under Muhlenberg. It furnished the foundation for ultimate success. It absorbed the Dutch church and later the congregations of Berkenmeyer. It would have assimilated the Swedish churches, if the organizing forces had been large enough. With the advent of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the Lutheran Church steps out of the stage of scattered congregations into the stage of a systematized ecclesiastical body. This organization, in its final analysis, was the work of the German mother-church. She supplied the largest number of men and also their financial support. Without her assistance the Lutheran Church of America would have been lost beyond redemption. It is to be regretted that the War of Independence terminated this relation with the mother-church before the American offspring had grown strong enough to look entirely after its own interests. The new development created new problems which were only partially solved in this period. We refer to the question of language, the looking after new territory and the training of competent ministers.

CHAPTER II

MUHLENBERG AND THE FOUNDING OF THE FIRST LUTHERAN SYNOD

MUHLENBERG AND HIS WORK

1. Muhlenberg's Call and Arrival

Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, born at Eimbeck, Hannover, Sept. 6, 1711, was descended from a family which had lost title and estate during the Thirty Years' War. Under such disadvantages he had received his preparatory education, struggling all along the line. As a student of theology he entered the University of Goettingen, where he graduated in 1738. Having come in contact with the influences of Halle which decided his future career, he intended to be sent as a missionary to East India. But for the time being, this plan did not seem feasible, and he accepted, August, 1739, a call to Grosshennersdorf, not far from Herrnhut, the estate of Zinzendorf. On Sept. 6, 1741, he paid a visit to Francke, who asked him whether he would accept a call to the three congregations of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, New Providence and New Hanover. Muhlenberg, considering this a divine call, accepted. Frau Francke was so delighted that she made him a present of a house-jacket. On Dec. 17th he started on his journey, visiting his home and relatives on the way, and arrived in London April 17, 1742. There he was much benefited and inspired by association with the London pastors, and perhaps acquired some familiarity with the English language. He was handed his formal call May 24th and sailed June 13th. During his ocean trip lasting one hundred two days passengers and crew were transformed into a congregation which Muhlenberg served with wonderful zeal. He landed at Charleston Sept. 23, 1742, and from there visited Ebenezer, the Salzburger colony. After a short stay of eight days, he proceeded to Pennsylvania.

After a journey of intense hardship, his clothes soaked with water while he lay ill among cursing fellow-passengers, he arrived at Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1742. Here Zinzendorf claimed to be pastor of the congregation and no welcome was

given the arriving minister. A meeting was called with Zinzendorf as chairman, during which Muhlenberg was questioned in a manner very humiliating to him as to the legitimacy of the call which had been extended to him through Pastor Ziegenhagen in London.¹ But the calm dignity of the new minister, who convinced his hearers that he was the called pastor, indicated that the time of Zinzendorf's control was about at an end. Shortly afterwards, about New Year, 1743, Zinzendorf returned to Europe.

2. Muhlenberg as a Missionary

His self-sacrificing and far-reaching activity as a missionary can be touched upon only briefly. The matter has been treated more fully by Jacobs and Graebner. The salary was pitifully meager. The first year one congregation contributed a horse, another nothing, and a third barely enough to pay rent. Muhlenberg's meeting place at Philadelphia was a carpenter (some say a butcher) shop, at New Providence a barn, and at New Hanover a half-finished church. Journeying over almost impassible roads, broken in places by rivers without bridges, he was not infrequently in danger of death. For Muhlenberg did not confine himself to the three congregations. Sympathy with the orphaned Lutherans caused him to make missionary journeys in every direction. In this way he came to Germantown, Tulpehocken, Lancaster, Frederick, York, etc. At these places he gathered those hungering for the Word into buildings or open fields. The services were usually of long duration. First the children were catechised; baptisms followed; then a sermon and finally the Lord's Supper. Muhlenberg's zeal was indefatigable. Outside of the work mentioned he undertook the building of churches, visited scattered families, settled controversies, reconciled contending parties and made his influence felt in every direction. Wherever he went doors were opened to him. He possessed in an extraordinary degree the grace of finding favor with men. With a bearing marked by a combination of natural dignity and genuine Christian humility, there was united a character to which learning, executive ability, and deep piety lent an irresistible charm so that he was gladly received on all sides as leader.

¹ See: Dr. W. Germann's *Autobiography*, pp. 142 ff.; Mann's *Life and Times*, pp. 117 ff.

3. The "Hallische Nachrichten" (Halle Reports)

The reports which Muhlenberg and his associates sent regularly to the fathers in Halle give a very clear view of their activity.² On reading Muhlenberg's articles in these Halle Reports, many clergymen in the Fatherland were moved to cross the sea to become missionaries among the Lutherans. How important this was may be gathered from the statistics on the rapid increase of immigration: in 1749 twelve thousand German immigrants arrived at Philadelphia. The supervision over the congregations up to the time of the War of Independence was in the hands of the Francke Institute at Halle and Dr. Ziegenhagen at London. They endorsed Muhlenberg's propositions and gave general advice.

4. Muhlenberg's Helpers

Additional workers arrived from Halle, notably Rev. Peter Brunnholtz and the two catechists, John Nicolas Kurtz and John H. Schaum. An agreement was made according to which Brunnholtz with Schaum took charge of the congregations in Philadelphia and Germantown, while Muhlenberg with Kurtz as his assistant confined his labors to the congregations in New Providence and New Hanover. Other helpers sent from Halle were Pastors John Frederick Handschuh and John Christopher Hartwig. Later we find the names of Gerok, Bager, Heinemann, Schultze, Helmuth, Schmidt, Voigt, Krug, Weygant, Krauss, Schenk, etc.

5. The Origin of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania

To counteract the influence of Zinzendorf and his followers and also to get rid of unworthy ministers who sought to force themselves upon the congregations, the founding of an ecclesiastical organization was becoming more and more necessary. As early as 1744 two influential laymen of Philadelphia, Kock of the Swedish and Schleidorn of the German congregation thought of organizing a Swedish-German synod. But this attempt failed because the Swedish Pastor Nyberg insisted that such an organization should include the followers

² These reports were published from time to time in 16 continuations from 1745 to 1786. They were compiled and re-edited in two volumes in 1787 by Rev. J. L. Schulze, D. D., of Halle. They were edited in 1886 by Dr. W. J. Mann and Dr. B. M. Schmucker with the help of Dr. W. Germann of Halle.

of Zinzendorf. To this Muhlenberg objected. However on August 26, 1748, the day following the dedication of the newly built St. Michael's Church in Philadelphia and the ordination of Candidate Kurtz, six clergymen (Muhlenberg, Hartwig of New York, Brunnholtz, Handschuh, Kurtz, and the Swedish Provost Sandin) and a number of lay representatives of congregations organized the Pennsylvania Synod.³ There was as yet no formal organization and no constitution, but from this time on those who composed the synod were regarded as "United Pastors" and their parishes as "United Congregations" who held seven conferences up to the year 1754⁴. After that date we notice a lull in the synodical activity, no convention being recorded between 1754 and 1760. One reason for this was probably the fact that Muhlenberg, who was the soul of all these enterprises, was engaged in work around New York where his organizing talents were required. It also seems that the founders had become somewhat discouraged. Their vision grew dim in the presence of towering tides of immigration for whose spiritual welfare the German Church did but little and whose future was endangered by ministerial frauds.

Provost Wrangel was responsible for the resumption of synodical work. He called on Muhlenberg, and invited him to take part in a Swedish conference. Muhlenberg accepted, and received so many helpful suggestions at this meeting that he wrote to the different ministers, Sept. 24, 1760, inviting them to attend a Pastoral Conference to be held at New Providence October 19th and 20th. This conference should not be underestimated for it signifies the revival of synodical interests after a period of inactivity. At this time there does not seem to have been a constitution, but a president was chosen from year to year, and they used the name "The Annual Ministerial Conference of the United Swedish and German Lutheran ministers." However in a minute-book of 1781

³ The protocol explains why other Lutheran ministers (Tobias Wagner, John Caspar Stoeber, etc.) were not invited. They were accused of having called the ministers of the synod pietists, of not having been properly called, of having refused to accept the proposed common liturgy, and of not being responsible to any authority for their conduct.

⁴ Not until 1792 did the lay delegates receive the right to vote. Up to that time the clergymen simply received reports and applications from the lay delegates, but reserved the final decision to themselves. At this the laymen took no offense.

is found the text of a constitution, which no doubt had existed for several years. Here the name of the synod is given as "An Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium in North America." Later the name was changed to "The German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjoining States." Not until 1882 was the word "German" dropped.

6. A Constitution for a Congregation

The first congregational constitution of the Lutheran Church of America is also the gift of Muhlenberg. It was written to meet the needs of St. Michael's Church, Philadelphia, in 1762 and bore the marks of mature study and observation. Muhlenberg incorporated into it not only what he had personally observed as a guide and adviser of various congregations, but also the experiences of the Swedish and Dutch Lutherans.) During a solemn service and after fervent prayer it was submitted to the people. The framing of this constitution was, in fact, a matter of far-reaching importance. Dr. Mann avers that if Muhlenberg had done nothing but compose this constitution, he would be entitled to the lasting gratitude of the Lutheran Church. It was used by the ministers who organized churches in Pennsylvania and adjacent states; it served as a foundation for the congregational constitution of the General Synod, and was thus the basis for the congregational constitutions of all synods until 1840.

7. A Liturgy Agreed Upon

A common liturgy to be used by all ministers had already been drawn up by Muhlenberg and his co-workers before the synod of 1748. This order of service was submitted to that synod and forwarded in 1754 to Halle for approval. It seems to have been drawn from a number of Saxon and North German liturgies familiar to Muhlenberg, with a liturgy of the Savoy Church of London as a foundation.⁵ The 1786 revision of this liturgy is to be considered a deterioration from the

⁵ The Lueneburg Liturgy (1643) which was used at his home in Eimbeck; the Calenberg service (1569) which he knew at Goettingen during his university days; the Brandenburg-Magdeburg arrangement of 1739 with which he became familiar in Halle; and the Saxon order of service of 1712 which he used as pastor in Grosshennersdorf. See Jacobs, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*, pp. 267 ff.; Schmauk, *History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, pp. 181, 266.

standpoint of Lutheran liturgics. (See Fritschel, *Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in America*, vol. I, pp. 178-187.)

8. Doctrinal Views of Muhlenberg and his Co-workers

Dr. Jacobs has correctly stated the case when he says that the pietistic tendencies of these men gave a certain color to their Lutheranism, but did not displace it. They were true Lutherans in preaching and practice. Says Dr. Mann: "Their Lutheranism did not differ from the Lutheran orthodoxy of the preceding period in the matter of doctrine, but to an extent in the manner of applying it. It was orthodoxy practically vitalized. They were less polemical and theoretical. They actualized their own Lutheran convictions through a noble, exemplary life and service. Their pietism was truly Lutheran piety, a warm-hearted, devout, active, practical Lutheranism." (Dr. W. J. Mann's "Theses on the Lutheranism of the Fathers of the Church in this Country," First Free Lutheran Diet, pp. 281-283.) There was no departing from Lutheran standards. That is proven by their whole activity as recorded in the *Hallische Nachrichten*. To his accusers Muhlenberg truthfully replied: "I ask Satan and all his lying spirits to prove anything against me which is not in harmony with the teaching of the apostles or of our Symbolical Books. I have stated frequently that there is neither fault nor error nor any kind of defect in our evangelical doctrines, founded on the teaching of the prophets and the apostles, and set forth in our Symbolical Books." It is true that they exchanged pulpits with ministers of the denominations. Muhlenberg at times preached for the Episcopalians, and in turn invited the Episcopal Pastor Peters, Whitfield the evangelist, and the Reformed Pastor Schlatter to occupy his pulpit. At Philadelphia he preached the funeral sermon for the Reformed Pastor Steiner. Whitfield was invited to the assembled Ministerium in Philadelphia in 1763 and took part in their service. At the consecration of Zion's Lutheran Church of Philadelphia the whole non-Lutheran clergy of that city were invited. Episcopal ministers delivered addresses, and Muhlenberg thanked them publicly for the part they had taken. But all of this, says Jacobs, is no evidence that these men had unionistic tendencies. Their uncompromising attitude toward Zinzendorf and his followers clearly shows their fundamental opposition to a

church union based on doctrinal indifferentism. They disliked Zinzendorf, not merely on account of his church politics, but also because of the unionistic principles which he openly proclaimed. If they associated with members of other churches, they did so because they admired the loyalty of each to their respective confessions and wished to emphasize the fundamental truths they held in common. "However, they never denied their confessional point of view. Everywhere and at all times they taught and preached as true Lutherans. They never for friendship's sake would be silent concerning a Lutheran doctrine or deny the full consequences of the teachings of their confessions." (Jacobs.)"

A union with the Anglicans seems, it is true, to have been considered. Not only Swedish and German Lutherans, but the Anglicans sought such union. Muhlenberg and Wrangel believed that there were no serious differences of doctrine. We cannot account for this strange delusion, but it is partly explained by the cordial relationship that had been sustained with the Anglicans and partly by the fact that the royal family of England was Lutheran and that the only two churches recognized in England were the Lutheran and the Anglican. These considerations probably clouded the view of Muhlenberg and his co-workers concerning the Church of England in the colonies.⁷

⁶ See Gottfried Fritschel, "Die Praxis der Vaeter und Gruender der Lutherischen Kirche Amerikas bei der Verwaltung des heiligen Abendmahls," *Brobst's Monatshefte*, XI, 12. Muhlenberg had solemnly pledged himself in his ordination vow before the theological faculty of the University of Leipzig, August 24, 1739, which committed to him the office of "teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments according to the rule given in the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, the sum of which is contained in these three symbols, the Apostolic, Nicene and Athanasian, in the Augsburg Confession laid before Charles V., A. D. 1530, in the Apology of the same, in Dr. Luther's Large and Small Catechisms, in the Articles subscribed to in the Smalcald Convention, and in the Formula of Concord. He solemnly promised that he would propose to his hearers what would be conformed and consentient to these writings and that he would never depart from the sense which they gave." (Dr. W. J. Mann, "The Conservatism of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg," in the *Lutheran Church Review*, January, 1888.

⁷ Rudman, the Swede, who was considered a more consistent Lutheran, served the Anglicans in Philadelphia. Bjoerk and Sandel exchanged pulpits with the Anglicans. An explanation of this is offered by Provost Sandel: "Although there is a slight difference between them and us regarding the Lord's Supper, the Bishop would not allow this difference to interfere with the general peace. We cannot be drawn into any argument. Neither do we touch upon these matters when we preach to them, nor do they try to convert our people to their belief.

It must be remembered also that Lutheran ministers frequently went to London to receive Episcopal ordination, as, for example, did Peter, the oldest son of Muhlenberg, who later was a Major General in the Colonial Army. This, however, was not done because the Episcopal ordination was regarded by them as the only true ordination, but because they were doing work in the Southern States where only Episcopal ordination was recognized by law.

9. Muhlenberg's Death

At the time of Muhlenberg's death the Pennsylvania Synod included in round numbers forty ministers. As he was kept confined to his house at Trappe on account of physical weakness, he held a service in his own house every Sunday with his family. His sickness developed into dropsy, and during the last weeks he had days of great suffering. He died on October 7, 1787. All the congregations of the synod held memorial services in his honor, and called to mind the blessings which the Lutheran Church of America had received from God through this prince in Israel. A sermon was delivered in New York by Dr. Kunze, which was printed by order of the church council and distributed among the members of the congregation. The same was done with a sermon delivered at Philadelphia by Dr. Helmuth in memory of the deceased. The grave of Muhlenberg is near the historic church of New Providence (Trappe).

At the conclusion of this chapter we ask: Why was Muhlenberg superior to his co-workers and why is he generally called the Patriarch of the Lutheran Church of America? The answer is found in his favorite motto: "Ecclesia plantanda" (the church must be planted). While other ministers were pre-eminently parochial clergymen and specialized in work for the narrower circle, Muhlenberg's eye took in the whole Lutheran mission field of America, and he was conscious of laying the foundations for a great future. In this sense he created the first congregational constitution and the first

We call each other brethren and live peaceably together. They control the government; we are under them; it is sufficient that they are such pleasant associates, and that they make no attempt to proselyte among our people. They call our church 'the Sister Church of the Church of England.' So we live fraternally together. May God continue to grant this." See Graebner, *Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in America*, p. 118.

liturgy. For this task he was well endowed and singularly fitted by nature and training. He possessed a thorough education, was a man of large horizons, eminently practical, a man of fine tact. With all his energy he was moderate, and possessed talents for organization such as are found only in great men. And all these natural gifts were consecrated by a living faith in Jesus Christ, a faith that was sound to the core.

To sum up: Muhlenberg was a born leader; the gift of Almighty God to the Lutheran Church of America at a time when organization was the supreme need of the hour and the Church was in need of such a leader. History bears witness that he nobly fulfilled his mission, that of organizing the individual congregations into the larger Church. The further development of his work and the task of extending his plan, together with the problems arising from such a task, pertain to another period of this history.

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CHAPTER III

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF MUHLENBERG'S ORGANIZATION

A. ORIGIN OF OTHER SYNODS

1. The New York Ministerium

Not until the Dutch congregations located on the banks of the Hudson were a hundred years old and the Palatinate churches had existed for half a century, do we hear of any synod in the territory of New York. This may be partly accounted for by the fact that the stream of German immigration had been diverted from New York to Pennsylvania, and partly by the exclusive tendencies of the Berkenmeyer circle, which would not enter into fellowship with the missionaries from Halle. At last, in the year 1775, the Rev. F. A. C. Muhlenberg, son of the patriarch, invited a number of clergymen and representatives of different congregations to attend a meeting in the German Lutheran Christ Church of New York for the purpose of organizing a second synod. The matter, however, does not seem to have succeeded. There may have been a meeting in 1785, but the first synodical gathering on record was in 1786. At the instance of the Rev. Dr. Kunze,¹ and the occasion of a Lutheran Church dedication at Albany, the First Conference attended by three ministers and their congregational delegates was held. Seven pastors who were engaged in work in this territory did not come. Before another meeting was called six years elapsed. But after that, developments were more noticeable. Another decade gives us a synod consisting of thirteen ministers. Dr. Kunze, in whom survived the spirit of Muhlenberg, died in 1807, and the New York Ministerium was controlled for twenty years by the

¹ Dr. John Christopher Kunze studied theology at Leipzig, and taught for several years in a school of higher learning; together with two sons of Muhlenberg who had been trained at Halle, he came to America in 1770. He married Muhlenberg's daughter, and became an associate preacher of St. Michael's, Philadelphia, and also Professor of Oriental languages in the newly founded University of Pennsylvania. In 1784 he accepted a call to a Lutheran Church in New York in the hope that he might arrange a course for theological students in connection with Columbia College. This hope failed on account of the war.

eminently gifted, though rationalistic Dr. Quitman under whose leadership it took part in the founding of the General Synod.

2. The North Carolina Synod

This mother-synod of all the Southern synods was organized by four clergymen, C. A. G. Storch, J. G. Arends, R. J. Miller and Paul Henkel, and fourteen lay delegates at Salisbury, N. C., in 1803. Other congregations of North Carolina soon united with them. Four came in 1810, nine from Tennessee in 1811, and five from Virginia in 1813. From 1810 on, this synod appointed yearly a missionary who was to look after newly arriving immigrants. These missionaries visited North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, South Carolina and even came to Ohio. All this took place before the rupture which resulted in the organization of the Synod of Tennessee.

3. The Joint Synod of Ohio

This synod had its beginning at Baidland, Washington County, Pa., in 1812, meeting as a Western District of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. This district in 1817 petitioned the Ministerium for permission to form a ministerium on the district's territory. Though the permission was refused, a compromise was offered whereby was organized September 14, 1818, at Somerset, Ohio, the "General Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Preachers in the State of Ohio." In 1825 the name "Synod" appeared in the title. (Cf. pp. 251ff.)

4. The Synod of Maryland and Virginia

The Virginia Conference of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was organized as a synod at Winchester, Va., October 11, 1820, with the consent of the mother-synod. Among the eleven clergymen composing the synod were Drs. Daniel Kurtz, David Frederick Schaefer and Charles Philip Krauth.

5. The Tennessee Synod

Born of controversy, this synod, founded at Cove Creek, Tenn., July 17, 1820, was a division from the Synod of North Carolina. Among the founders of this organization were Philip and David Henkel, sons of Paul Henkel. They objected

strenuously to the forming of a General Synod, a plan which was warmly advocated by the Synod of North Carolina. For a long time afterwards the synod of Tennessee was antagonistic to the General Synod. It distinguished itself by being the only synod at that time which stood squarely on the Augsburg Confession. Among its prominent members were the Henkels, the Stierwalds and the Foxes.

When in October, 1820, the matter of a General Synod was being discussed, there existed only the Pennsylvania Synod (Ministerium of Pennsylvania) and the synods just mentioned, six altogether. At that time the Lutheran Church in America had about one hundred fifty ministers, about half of whom were connected with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The statistics are: Ministerium of Pennsylvania, 74 ministers; New York Ministerium, 19 ministers; Synod of North Carolina, 22 ministers; Joint Synod of Ohio, 21 ministers; Tennessee Synod, 6 ministers; Synod of Maryland and Virginia, 11 ministers; total, 153 ministers.

B. CHARACTERISTICS OF THIS PERIOD

1. Lack of Clergymen

The demand for theological seminaries was keenly felt. Dr. Kunze and his successor, Dr. Helmuth, pastors of St. Michael's in Philadelphia, served as professors at the University of Pennsylvania, and in this way prepared some young men for the ministry, notably George Lochman, Christian Endress, David Frederick Schaeffer and J. G. Schmucker. Franklin College at Lancaster, Pa., named in honor of Benjamin Franklin, was founded in 1787. Here Reformed and Lutheran clergymen collaborated, each trying to secure candidates for the ministry. The Lutheran Church, however, succeeded in getting but few, among whom were H. A. Muhlenberg and Benjamin Keller. A number of Lutheran students attended the seminaries of other denominations. Princeton (Reformed) was particularly popular. Hartwick Seminary in the state of New York, which opened for work in 1815, was founded by means of the estate of the Rev. John Christopher Hartwig left for this purpose. Its first president was Dr. E. L. Hazelius under whom many Lutheran ministers received their training. These men, however, from the viewpoint

of their grasp of the Lutheran confessions, were children of their age.

Prof. Ernst Ludwig Hazelius, born at Neusalz in 1777, died 1853, was a descendant of the court-preacher of the same name. His father was a Moravian, and he received his training at Barby and Niesky. In 1800 he was called to the Moravian seminary at Nazareth, Pa. But his Lutheran tendencies prevailed, and he accepted the pastorate of the Lutheran Church in New Jersey. He became professor at Hartwick Seminary in 1815, professor of church history at Gettysburg in 1830, professor in the seminary of the Synod of South Carolina in 1834 until the time of his death in 1853. He was the author of a *History of the American Lutheran Church*, 1846. (See the article by Dr. F. G. Gotwald in the January issue of the *Lutheran Quarterly* for 1916.)

2. The Language Question

For the first time in the history of the Lutheran Church in America the language question reached a critical stage during this period. Muhlenberg, Berkenmeyer and other German and Swedish pastors had hitherto preached in the English tongue without meeting serious opposition, but now the situation had changed. St. Michael's Church in Philadelphia furnished the arena for the combatants. Led by General Peter Muhlenberg, the English part of the congregation demanded that an English-speaking pastor be called to supplement the work of the two German ministers, Helmuth and Schmidt. However, at the annual meeting in 1806, at which fourteen hundred votes were cast, the German party won by a plurality of one hundred thirty votes. The English party left and founded St. John's Church. Ten years afterwards another controversy on the same subject, which was even carried into the civil courts, caused another emigration of members and the subsequent founding of the English Lutheran St. Matthew's congregation. Similar controversies took place in other churches, especially in New York. During this time in congregational meetings such statements as the following were put on record: "As long as the grass grows green and as long as water will not run up hill, this is to remain a German speaking congregation." And again: "Even in Paradise the Lord spoke to Adam in German, for do we not read in the

third chapter of Genesis: The Lord God called unto Adam and said unto him, 'Wo bist du?' " While such remarks are not to be taken too seriously, they indicate the blind fanaticism displayed during the discussion. The Germans were still in the majority and they generally carried their point, but hundreds of young people drifted into the churches of the surrounding denominations, a fact which explains the origin of some of the strongest Methodist, Presbyterian and Episcopal congregations of present times.

3. Rationalistic Influences

Says Dr. Spaeth (Hauck's R. E., XIV, 191): "The religious life of America, like that of Europe, was in a stage of decadence at the end of the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th century. The French Revolution and the American War of Independence had the immediate effect of shattering religious and political ideals. The close alliance between France and the new American republic opened the door for a vast influx of French infidel literature, and the complaint of decaying faith was heard on all sides." Muhlenberg and his co-workers had feared this development. They had watched the theological discussions at Halle, and drew the sorry conclusion that Rationalism would sooner or later dominate the pulpits of America. Their fear was justified. At the end of the eighteenth century Unitarian congregations were founded at Boston by Socinian fugitives from England. Their influence was soon extended, particularly among the Congregationalists. Germany, too, contributed its share of Rationalism. Ministers arriving from Halle had been trained by professors of the new school of theology. After the death of Dr. Kunze in 1807, Dr. F. H. Quitman of Rhinebeck, N. Y., a disciple of Semler, was made president of the New York Ministerium, and held that office for twenty-one years. A man of commanding personality, equally eloquent in English and German, and intellectually superior to his colleagues, he was bound to have a far-reaching influence. On behalf of the synod he wrote a catechism full of rationalistic doctrines (1812) and an English liturgy and hymnal in which God was addressed as "the great Father of the universe." All were based upon the speech of the older Rationalism, in which the "higher reason of Christianity" was substituted for the Holy Spirit, the "laxity of

modern life" for the sinful heart, "the beginning of nobler impulses" for regeneration, "the elevation of humanity" for Christ's ascension, and "corporate immortality" for personal immortality. It should be stated, however, that the influences of German Rationalism were mostly confined to the English-speaking congregations. German churches, adhering to Luther's Catechism, generally escaped. Those who would form a fair judgment of the linguistic controversies mentioned above must not lose sight of the fact that many church members of the Pennsylvania Synod fought as they did because to them the German language was the bulwark behind which they sought refuge from the dangers of Rationalism.

4. Confessional Deterioration

These controlling rationalistic influences were bound to weaken confessional convictions. Some do not understand why so much emphasis is placed in the history of the Lutheran Church of America on firm adherence to the confession of faith, and why from this viewpoint we measure success and failure; but it must ever be remembered that the American Lutheran Church is a free Church, i. e., not under state authority. "As a free church she must be preëminently a confessional Church. For those who unite with a congregation without compulsion or enter into any relationship with synods must first of all have a very clear idea what is the common basis of their faith." Confessional convictions grew dim, and the foundation laid by Muhlenberg began to crumble. In 1792 the constitution of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was changed, and all references to the Lutheran Confession eliminated. There was a tendency to obscure points of difference between Lutheranism and Episcopalianism. When this tendency was previously recorded, it appeared in a more or less harmless character, but a resolution passed by the New York Ministerium in 1797 bodes ill for the Lutheran Church: "Because of the close relation between the Episcopal and Lutheran Churches and because of the similarity of doctrine and discipline, the consistory will not recognize any newly organized English Lutheran Church in places where the members can commune in the Episcopal fold." Fortunately this action was rescinded in 1804. The Pennsylvania Synod considered a union with the Reformed Church. Mention has already been

made of attempted coöperation between Lutherans and Reformed in theological education. Many so-called "union churches" were built to be used jointly by Lutherans and Reformed.

It was a time when the very existence of Lutheranism was at stake. The general confusion threatened to lead its members into other denominations. Far-seeing men recognized that these dangers could be met only by special efforts. Lutheran literature and a thoroughly trained ministry—these were the immediate needs of the hour. To face the crisis successfully the different synods would have to coöperate.

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THE THIRD PERIOD

ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST GENERAL BODIES

The founding of the Church ("ecclesia plantanda") was Muhlenberg's great aim. When he closed his eyes, he had reached the goal. Humanly speaking, he had established the Lutheran Church. He had been a chosen instrument in the hand of God. But new problems had now arisen. The transplanted seed required care in order to produce fruit; an ever extending territory and a gradual growth necessitated the founding of new synods. Now there was danger that the church formed by Muhlenberg would be split up into conferences and associations, with no bond of union among them. The transition of a large part of the Lutheran Church from the use of German to the use of English, and many movements of that day in the social and religious life of the American people, put the Lutheran Church to a severe test. It was essential that there should be a bond of union for the purpose of gathering the scattered threads of the Church. Such a bond of union was to be definite enough to insure organic connection, but also elastic enough to admit of a certain freedom of movement for its different units. In brief, a basis was to be found for the coöperation of Lutheran synods.

The first characteristic of this period is the organization of synods into larger bodies. The hope for a body including all Lutherans in America was not realized. There is, however, distinct evidence of a desire for inter-synodical coöperation in common problems and a growing spirit of solidarity among Lutherans. In this period is to be noted the organization of a number of general bodies, and, running parallel to their history, that of certain individual synods.

The second characteristic of the period is territorial expansion. As migration proceeded westward, the Lutheran Church reached the shores of the Pacific. Moreover, a vast stream of European immigration flooded all parts of the country. The care for these multitudes would have been impossible had not the churches of Germany and Scandinavia faithfully

coöperated with the Lutherans of America. Independent of American traditions and influences, a large number of synods sprang up in the West.

The period is marked, thirdly, by provision for theological education. As the church grew stronger, educational institutions (seminaries, colleges and academies) were founded for the purpose of training ministers, so that the Church of this country would not be dependent upon the Fatherland.

CHAPTER IV

FOUNDING OF THE GENERAL SYNOD

A. ORGANIZATION

1. The Idea Suggested

The desirability of closer relations between synods was apparently first suggested in an essay written for the Ministerium of Pennsylvania by Dr. Helmuth concerning congregations in North Carolina, and sent to them in 1807. It was not until 1812 that reply was made on behalf of the Synod of North Carolina by Pastors Storch and Schober, who favored the idea. At its convention at Harrisburg in 1818 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania adopted a resolution expressing as desirable a closer connection with other synods, and another charging the officers with entering into correspondence toward this end. Accordingly the synods were invited to send representatives to the next meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in Baltimore, Md., when the matter would be discussed.

2. The Idea Takes Shape

In response to the invitation, Dr. Quitman of the New York Ministerium sent a letter endorsing the proposal. The North Carolina Synod sent as representative the Rev. Gottlieb Schober who was given a seat and vote in the 1819 convention. He presented the outline of a plan largely modeled after that of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. The mother synod appointed a committee to make further suggestions, which resulted in the elimination of some objectionable features and the adding of other elements chiefly of a congregational character. In this amended form the proposed plan was adopted, it being understood that, if three-fourths of the existing synods would adopt it in its fundamental features, Dr. J. G. Schmucker, then president of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, should call a convention of delegates. The necessary approval by the synods having been given, a convention was held in Hagerstown, Md., October 22, 1820. The Pennsylvania Ministerium, the New York Ministerium, the North Carolina Synod and the Synod of Maryland and Virginia were

represented. The Tennessee Synod, just founded, and the Joint Synod of Ohio did not attend. The Tennessee Synod objected on doctrinal grounds, asserting that the proposed plan made no mention of either the Bible or the Augsburg Confession. The Joint Synod of Ohio rejected the plan for a number of practical reasons. The convention agreed upon a constitution which was to be submitted to the Synods for approval, and which was to go into effect when ratified by three synods.

3. Discouragements

The condition that at least three synods must adopt the proposed constitution before a general body could be recognized was barely fulfilled. The New York Ministerium withdrew, declaring the plan "impractical." At the second convention even the Pennsylvania Ministerium, hitherto leading the movement, refused to coöperate. This was due not to doctrinal dissensions or to disagreement of the leaders, but to certain prejudices that had arisen among the congregations. Political demagogues, inspired by motives of self-interest, men antagonistic to the Church, Germans dreading authority, circulated reports that the General Synod, Bible societies and theological seminaries were part of a secret scheme to establish a union between the State and the Church and to introduce the compulsory system of religion of the old country. A Reformed school-teacher, Carl Gock, had by his writings aroused a storm of opposition. So strong was this prejudice that the pastors considered it policy to yield to it, hoping that eventually they might overcome it. But not until 1853 did the Ministerium of Pennsylvania retrace this step.

4. Leaders

Prominent among the names of the founders of the General Synod was that of **John George Schmucker** (1771-1854), pastor during this period at York, Pa., an immigrant with his parents to Virginia, student under Paul Henkel and Drs. Helmuth and Schmidt, and a member of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. He was president of his synod in 1819 when the proposed plan was formulated, and issued the call for the General Synod convention at Hagerstown, himself attending as a delegate. At that and subsequent conventions he was

appointed to membership on prominent committees. He was from the beginning a member, and for many years president, of the Board of Directors of the seminary at Gettysburg. He was prominent also in missionary and literary activities.

John Daniel Kurtz (1763-1856) of Baltimore, Md., was first president of the General Synod. He had been a member of the Pennsylvania Ministerium's committee to draft the proposed plan and was a delegate at Hagerstown from the newly organized Synod of Maryland and Virginia. He was elected president again in 1823, and again in 1827, besides serving on important committees and being a director of the seminary.

Christian Endress (1775-1827), pastor at Lancaster, Pa., was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and a theological student under Pastors Helmuth and Schmidt. He was ordained by the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1802 and was a delegate from his synod to the General Synod at the 1820 and subsequent conventions where he served on leading committees.

Gottlieb Schober (1756-1838), pastor at Salem, N. C., was president of the General Synod in 1825. He grew up in the Moravian faith, and, strangely enough, maintained a relation to that communion all his life, according to Bernheim. After a legal career of considerable success, and after the age of fifty, he entered the Lutheran ministry of the North Carolina Synod. He composed the outline on which the Ministerium of Pennsylvania constructed the "Proposed Plan" of the General Synod, and he was a member of the constructing committee. He was a General Synod delegate in 1820, was prominent in committee work, and in 1825 became a member of the board of directors of the seminary, to which he bequeathed over two thousand acres of land.

George Lochman (1773-1826), pastor at Harrisburg, Pa., was elected president of the General Synod in 1821. He had studied at the University of Pennsylvania and under Dr. Helmuth and became a pastor in the Pennsylvania Ministerium. He was a delegate at Hagerstown in 1820 and was a member of the committee that year "to form a plan for a Seminary of education." He was also a member in 1821 of a committee to compose an English catechism.

Benjamin Kurtz (1795-1865), was president of the General Synod in 1829. He was a member in 1820 of the committee "to form a plan for a Missionary Institution," was a member of the seminary committee in 1825, was the successful agent of the seminary to Europe and was a member of the Board of Directors of the seminary. He is best known as editor of *The Lutheran Observer*, champion of "American Lutheranism," "New Measures" and the "Definite Platform," and founder of Missionary Institute, now Susquehanna University.

David Frederick Schaeffer (1787-1837), pastor at Frederick, Md., was secretary of the General Synod from 1821 to 1829. Having completed studies at the University of Pennsylvania and under Drs. Helmuth and Schmidt, he was ordained at Philadelphia in 1812. He was a delegate at Hagerstown in 1820, serving that year on the missionary institution committee, and at the two succeeding conventions on the committee on the catechism. In 1831 he was elected president of the General Synod. He was editor of the first English Lutheran journal in America, the *Intelligencer*.

Samuel Simon Schmucker (1799-1873), son of Dr. J. G. Schmucker, studied at the University of Pennsylvania and Princeton Theological Seminary. He was delegate to the General Synod in 1823 serving on the committee on the catechism, and two years later on the seminary and liturgy committees. When the Ministerium of Pennsylvania withdrew from the General Synod, he persuaded the West Conference of the Pennsylvania Ministerium to advance the date of their special meeting in order that they might send representatives and thus save the very existence of the General Synod. He was the first professor at the Gettysburg Seminary, serving for nearly forty years, and a prolific writer. He towered above his contemporaries, a dominating figure in the councils of the Church. However, his hostility towards the "Symbolists" and his authorship of the "Definite Platform" clouded his eminent contributions to the Church.

Charles Philip Krauth (1797-1867), studied theology privately and was ordained by the Synod of Maryland and Virginia. He was a member of the General Synod committee on

liturgy in 1825, and a member of the first board of directors of the seminary, where he later was a professor for many years, being for a time also president of Pennsylvania College. He was for a time co-editor of the *Intelligencer* and later editor of the *Evangelical Review*. He was conservative theologically, contending for a union of Lutherans on the basis of the Augsburg Confession.

John Gottlieb Morris (1803-1895), of Baltimore, Md., was a man of strong influences. (See his biographical note, page 136.)

Charles Porterfield Krauth (1823-1883), son of Dr. Charles Philip Krauth, was educated for the ministry at Pennsylvania College and at the Gettysburg Seminary. A careful study of church history and the symbolical books gave him a fine appreciation of historic Lutheranism. He fought "American Lutheranism," and his critical contributions to the *Missionary* and the *Evangelical Review*, and afterwards to the *Lutheran and Missionary* greatly helped to clear the theological atmosphere and to strengthen the cause of conservative Lutheranism. In 1861 he became editor of the *Lutheran and Missionary*, and in 1864 professor of theology at the newly founded seminary of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. His outstanding leadership in the General Council was everywhere recognized. He was a voluminous writer. Of highest importance is his work, *The Conservative Reformation and its Theology*, which will influence Lutheran thought in America for years to come.

William Alfred Passavant (1821-1894), born at Zelienople, Pa., received his training at Jefferson College and Gettysburg Seminary. While yet a student he published the first Lutheran Almanac issued in America. He served congregations in Baltimore and Pittsburgh. He was a man of aggressive organizing ability, whose energetic influence resulted in the organization of the Pittsburgh Synod and the formulation of its Missionary Constitution. The synod's Home Mission activity under his leadership set the pace for the whole Church. He published *The Missionary*, and later the *Workman*. He is the father of Inner Mission work in America. In coöperation with Fliedner of Kaiserswerth, he founded the deaconess work in America. He established orphanages and hospitals, and

was instrumental in founding Thiel College and the Chicago Theological Seminary, located at Maywood, Ill.

5. First Educational Institutions

The General Synod realized at an early date the necessity of theological training schools. While Hartwick Seminary in the state of New York offered a theological course, it furnished few candidates for the ministry. During the third convention held at Frederick, Md., in 1825, resolutions were adopted providing for the establishment of a theological seminary. A Board of Directors was elected and Rev. S. S. Schmucker was chosen professor. Gettysburg was the site selected by the Board and the institution opened in September, 1826, with ten students. Commissioned by the General Synod, Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, on a two years' trip through Germany, collected some funds, which, after deducting expenses, amounted to about \$10,000. He also secured a large number of books for a seminary library. Professor Schmucker collected considerable money on financial tours made by him. Rev. E. L. Hazelius in 1830 became the second professor. He was succeeded in 1833 by Charles Philip Krauth. In the period before the disruption of the General Synod, the seminary grew in size and influence, having prepared during the period several hundred men for the ministry.

Since some of the students at the seminary were lacking certain classical studies, a sort of preparatory school or academy was begun in 1827 which developed into Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg in 1832. The first president was Charles Philip Krauth and the second was Henry L. Baugher. The college has had enormous influence in the Church. She numbers among her alumni the founders or professors of several other Lutheran institutions.

Wittenberg College, which also offered a theological course, was founded in 1845 at Springfield, Ohio, by the English synods in Ohio. The first president was Dr. Ezra Keller. He was succeeded by Dr. Samuel Sprecher, a man of frail physique but of great ability and far-reaching influence. Both men had been trained by Dr. S. S. Schmucker. While Sprecher adopted the theological and confessional position of his teacher, he lived long enough to realize that the future of the Lutheran Church lay in another direction. Wittenberg College

came to be of vital importance for the development and life of the western synods.

Because of similar needs in the south, the South Carolina Synod established a seminary in 1830 with Rev. J. G. Schwartz as professor. In 1833 it was located at Lexington with Rev. E. L. Hazelius as professor. The preparatory department of the institution was begun at Lexington and in 1858 established as Newberry College at Newberry, S. C., the seminary coming also to the new location. Dr. T. Stork was first president of the new college.

Roanoke College was founded by the Virginia Synod in 1842 near Mt. Tabor, Va. In 1847 it was removed to Salem, Va. Dr. D. F. Bittle was president of the institution for twenty-three years. His brother, Dr. D. H. Bittle, was the founder of North Carolina College in 1858 at Mount Pleasant, N. C. In the west was established Illinois State University in 1852, from which came Carthage College. Missionary Institute, now Susquehanna University, was founded at Selinsgrove, Pa., by Benjamin Kurtz in 1858 to offer a shorter course of instruction to theological students advanced in life.

6. The First Church Papers

By a resolution of the Pennsylvania Ministerium adopted 1811, *Das Evangelische Magazin* was published quarterly with Dr. Helmuth as editor-in-chief. But in 1817 it was discontinued, having appeared merely as a year-book during the preceding three years. The next attempt of this character was an English monthly comprising some twenty-eight pages, called *The Evangelical Lutheran Intelligencer*. It was published by the Synod of Maryland and Virginia, and appeared for the first time in 1826, containing the reprint from the minutes of the General Synod of an important letter addressed to that body by Professor Planck of Goettingen. During its brief career of five years it was edited by the Rev. D. F. Schaeffer of Frederick, Md., who found an able collaborator in the Rev. Charles Philip Krauth. The enterprise closed with a deficit of \$800 which was paid by the synod. *The Lutheran Magazine*, also an English monthly, was published by a committee of the Western Conference of the New York Ministerium, and edited by the Rev. Dr. G. A. Lintener, pastor at Schoharie, N. Y. The first number appeared in February,

1827, the last in April 1831. This was followed by the *Evangelisches Magazin*, a monthly of thirty-two pages which began in 1829 and lasted four years. It was edited in the interest of the West Pennsylvania Synod by the Rev. John Herbst of Gettysburg the first year, by Prof. S. S. Schmucker the second year, and by Professors Schmucker and Hazelius the third and fourth years. Characteristic of the theological tendencies then prevailing at Gettysburg is the following sentence taken from an article of the year 1830: "No one, though he be a layman or a clergyman in the Church, is entitled to the name Lutheran unless he stands squarely on the fundamental teachings of the Holy Scriptures as contained in our Confessions." With an appeal to the subscribers to pay an accumulated debt of \$500, this publication, too, had to be discontinued. Limited receipts and heavy printing expenses accounted for the short life of all these enterprises. The *Lutheran Observer* was founded in 1831 with the Rev. J. G. Morris as editor and published in Baltimore, Md. Two years later, the Rev. Benjamin Kurtz was made editor-in-chief and devoted his entire time to it. At first it appeared semi-monthly, but soon became a weekly publication. Until 1861, i. e., for twenty-eight years, Dr. Kurtz retained the editorship. He was a brilliant writer, and impressed upon the paper his strong personality. It is to be regretted that he lacked appreciation of historical Lutheranism—a matter to which we shall refer later. The *Evangelical Review* was founded in 1849 by Professor William M. Reynolds of Pennsylvania College. His successor was Dr. Charles Philip Krauth of the Gettysburg Seminary who impressed upon the publication his superior personality. This theological magazine became the repository of articles of permanent value and served as a bridge between the Lutheran theology of Germany and the Lutheran Church of America, so much in need of sound theology at this critical period of transition to the English language. Dr. W. A. Passavant started *The Missionary* in 1848, and, while his chief interest was that of missions, yet, through the help of Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth, it took on quite a theological character. Dr. Jacobs says that while the theological articles were at times heavy reading for a weekly, they had a powerful and permanent influence upon the educated ministry. In 1861 this paper, published in Pittsburgh, was merged

with the *Lutheran*, begun in 1856 and published in Philadelphia. The *Evangelical Lutheran*, edited by Rev. F. W. Conrad, represented the interests of the institution at Springfield, Ohio, and the *Olive Branch*, published by Dr. S. W. Harkey, the interests of Illinois State University, Springfield, Ill.

7. Growth and Constituent Synods, 1820-1867

The prejudice against the General Synod within the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was not shared by the congregations located west of the Susquehanna River. In 1823, when it was known that the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had withdrawn from the General Synod, young S. S. Schmucker of New Market, Va., prevailed upon the West Conference of the Ministerium to meet early enough to send representatives to the convention of the General Synod that year. This Conference organized as the West Pennsylvania Synod in 1825 and joined the General Synod the same year. From this feeble strength of three small synods the General Synod made rapid growth in the next forty years. New synods, as they were founded, affiliated with the General Synod: the Hartwick Synod in New York joined in 1831; in 1835 the South Carolina Synod, 1837 the New York Ministerium, 1839 the Synod of Virginia, 1841 the Synod of the West, 1842 the English-speaking district of the Joint Synod of Ohio, the Southwestern Synod of Virginia, the East Pennsylvania Synod and the Alleghany Synod joined the general body. Further additions were: the Miami Synod in 1845; the Illinois Synod, the Synod of the Southwest, and the Wittenberg Synod in 1848; in 1850 the Olive Branch Synod; in 1853 the Pennsylvania Ministerium (after an independent existence for thirty years); in the same year the Texas Synod, the Synod of Northern Illinois, and the Pittsburgh Synod; in 1855 the Synod of Kentucky, the English District Synod of Ohio, and the Central Synod of Pennsylvania; in 1857 the Synod of Northern Indiana, the Synod of Southern Illinois, and the English-speaking Synod of Iowa; in 1859 the Melancthon Synod; in 1862 the New Jersey Synod; in 1864 the Franckean Synod and the Synod of Minnesota. Some of these synods were branches of other synods or were later merged into other districts. In 1860, before the withdrawal of the Southern synods, the General Synod had 26 synods, 864 ministers and 164,000 communicants.

8. Missions and Charitable Institutions, 1820-1867

Home mission activity first occupied the attention of the general body. In 1835 the delegates to the General Synod organized the "Central Mission Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." Two years later they sent six men, chief of whom was J. C. F. Heyer, to explore the missionary possibilities of the Mississippi Valley. The Pennsylvania Ministerium also had a Society in 1836. Their representative, Ezra Keller, made a western trip showing the religious needs of the country. Except as frontier work was continued by individual synods and pastors, the interest in Home Missions lagged for a time while Foreign Missions were to the fore.

However, in 1845 was organized the Home Missionary Society of the General Synod which was interested in occupying new fields, caring for the multitudes of immigrants, establishing churches in Canada and attempting work among the Indians in Michigan. The work of Heyer in Minnesota produced great results. Individual synods aided the movement, notably the Pittsburgh Synod in her work in Canada and Texas. The Church Extension Society came into being in 1853 to aid in the building of church edifices.

Foreign Mission interest took active form in the organization in 1837 of the German Foreign Mission Society, which hoped to serve Reformed and Moravian as well as Lutheran German churches. But it was always almost entirely composed of General Synod people. When the Rev. C. L. E. Rhensius, a German missionary in India, severed his relation to the Church Missionary Society of England because of disagreement about ordination, he appealed to the Lutherans in America for support. The German Foreign Mission Society pledged aid as did also the society of the Pennsylvania Ministerium and the South Carolina Society. However, Rhensius died before much had been accomplished.

In 1841 John Christian Friedrich Heyer offered himself to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania as a missionary to India. After some delay he was accepted and sailed October 14th 1841, beginning work the following summer in Guntur. Rev. and Mrs. Walter Gunn were sent by the General Synod in 1844 to be his assistants and two years later the General Synod society accepted responsibility for the mission. In

succeeding years the missionary territory in India was expanded and other missionaries were supplied.

A work was begun in Africa in 1860 with the founding of the Muhlenberg Mission in Liberia by the Rev. Morris Officer. In this field, work of heroic character has been done.

Charitable institutions of a permanent character began with the activity of William Alfred Passavant in Pittsburgh. The first Protestant hospital in America was founded there in 1849, the first patients being sick soldiers returning from the Mexican War. In 1863 Passavant founded the hospital in Milwaukee and in 1865 the one in Chicago. He had four deaconesses come from Germany and in 1850 organized the Institution of Protestant Deaconesses to train and provide deaconesses for the work of mercy. In connection with the Infirmary, as the Pittsburgh hospital was then called, he began an orphanage in 1852, which two years later was established at Zelenople, Pa. This is the oldest Protestant orphanage in America. He assisted charitable persons in Philadelphia in the establishment in 1859 of the home for orphans in Germantown. He aroused the sympathy of New York Lutherans in Civil War orphans and founded the Wartburg institution at Mt. Vernon, N. Y., in 1866. One other institution within the territory of the General Synod remains to be mentioned, namely the orphanage begun by St. John's Church, Buffalo, N. Y., and the New York Ministerium in 1864. This institution was later moved from Buffalo to Sulphur Springs, N. Y.

9. Relation to Other Lutheran Bodies

Because the general organization of 1820 sincerely aimed to serve as a connecting link among all Lutheran synods, it kept its eyes on existing and rising synods, inviting them to join the alliance. Thus for four years the General Synod conferred with the Joint Synod of Ohio. The Pennsylvania Ministerium was encouraged to reunite with the General Synod. At the tenth convention, held at Chambersburg, Pa., 1839, Drs. C. F. Schaeffer, S. S. Schmucker and B. Kurtz were appointed "to enter into correspondence with Lutheran societies of recent immigration and represented by the Rev. Mr. Stephan." This meant the arrivals from Saxony, now the Missourians. At the fourteenth convention, held at New York City, 1848, the General Synod got in touch with isolated Lu-

therans in Nova Scotia and Canada. It also invited the Evangelical Synod of the West, hoping, no doubt, that this body would adopt a Lutheran platform. At its second convention (Frederick, Md.) it named a committee of Correspondence with Foreign Countries. This committee was authorized to communicate with the Lutheran Church of Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, and also with the Orphans' Home of Halle and the Rector of the University of Goettingen. The purpose was to convey to these countries an impression of Lutheran progress in America and to stimulate coöperation for the growth of Christ's kingdom.

B. ATTITUDES

1. Irenic Tendencies

We have previously stated that the confessional position of the Lutheran Church in America, and so also that of the General Synod, during this period was not beyond question. The founding of the General Synod was contemporaneous with the founding of the Prussian Union. In Germany there was a rapprochement of the Reformed and the Lutheran parties and a general setting aside of confessional distinctions. It is only natural that, under such influences from the Fatherland, the General Synod also failed to appreciate sufficiently the distinguishing doctrines of the Lutherans and the Reformed. Muhlenberg had clearly discerned the necessity of adhering to historical Lutheranism, which can never be sacrificed, especially in America, without serious consequences. He had, however, shown his Pietistic training by occasionally practicing pulpit fellowship with the Reformed denominations. His successors went even further, not hesitating to make a regular practice of it. From this practice to a general confessional confusion was but a single step.

2. Opposition to Union with the Reformed

The Joint Synod of Ohio in 1839 did not object to such a union. The pastors of the Pennsylvania Ministerium looked upon it as a cherished hope, though not yet practical because of opposition on the part of the laity, who suspected hierarchical ambitions in every movement toward synodical concentration. One reason why many pastors of the Pennsylvania Ministerium wished to withdraw from the General Synod was the fact that they preferred to give their support to a Reformed-

Lutheran seminary at Lancaster rather than to that at Gettysburg, projected by the General Synod. To all attempts at organic union with the Reformed the General Synod was radically opposed. Says Dr. Jacobs: "The General Synod must be regarded as a very important forward movement, and its influence as beneficial . . . The General Synod was a protest against the schemes of a union with the Reformed in Pennsylvania and with the Episcopalians in North Carolina. It stood for the independent existence of the Lutheran Church in America and the clear and unequivocal confession of a positive faith." Organic union with other churches was consistently opposed by the General Synod, strikingly so at the seventh convention, held at Baltimore, 1833. At the convention at Dayton, Ohio, in 1855, resolutions were adopted condemning the practice, then popular in Pennsylvania, of building churches for the common use of the Lutherans and the Reformed.

3. Support of the Evangelical Alliance

The irenic tendencies of the General Synod reached their culmination in the interest of that body and especially of Dr. S. S. Schmucker in the Evangelical Alliance which held its first convention in London in 1846. The Alliance was a free association of Evangelical Christians to promote religious freedom and coöperation. To the first convention the General Synod sent Drs. S. S. Schmucker, Benjamin Kurtz and J. G. Morris. Not only was Dr. Schmucker an enthusiastic advocate of the Alliance but also the author of an elaborate and comprehensive scheme of an "Apostolic Protestant Union" with the following features: "Unity of name, unity in fundamental doctrines, while diversity in non-essentials was conceded; mutual acknowledgment of each other's acts of discipline; sacramental and ministerial intercommunion; convention of the different churches of the land in synod or council for mutual consultation or ecclesiastical regulation." This was endorsed by the General Synod at its meeting in New York, 1848.

4. Opposition to Socinianizing Tendencies

The General Synod was a protest against the Socinian tendencies which endangered Lutheranism in New York. Says

Dr. Jacobs: "The General Synod saved the Church, as it became Anglicized, from the calamity of the type of doctrine which, within the New York Ministerium, had been introduced into the English language." The majority of ministers belonging to the New York Ministerium preached rationalistic sermons. None but men of this type were permitted to fill the pulpit of Dr. Quitman, president of the body. Rationalism and latitudinarianism were in the air. Among the cultured this tendency found expression in Tom Paine's *Age of Reason*. Thus the General Synod, with its strong position against these Socinianizing elements which had been imported from Europe to New York, became a source of blessing for the Lutheran Church of America.

5. Under the Influence of Revivalism

Following the War of Independence the country became religiously demoralized. Rank unbelief and a shocking atheism imported from France swayed the multitude. "But in striking contrast to this general infidelity there arose, during the last decade of the century, a fire of religious fervor which, flaming through the spiritual wilderness, took hold of thousands with violent force." (Graebner). This was the time when Wesley's Methodism formed itself into an independent church, and soon became a power throughout the land. Camp-meetings were the craze of the day. The strangest practices were looked upon without surprise. Little children preached sermons. Men and women dropped from their seats and lay unconscious on the ground. The purpose of it all was the new birth. This being accomplished, singing and rejoicing were in order. The "holy laughter" and the "jumping-fit" revealed an extraordinary state of grace and were attributed to a special activity of the Holy Spirit.

A book entitled *The Anxious Bench*, written by the Reformed professor, Dr. J. W. Nevin, vigorously attacked the methods of revivalism. This practice, however, found a champion in *The Lutheran Observer*, edited by Dr. B. Kurtz. For the Lutheran Church did not remain untouched. Considering Lutheran doctrine and practice this was unfortunate. Surely the method of the revivalist is not in harmony with Lutheran teaching. Says Dr. Nevin: "A low Pelagianizing theory runs through it from beginning to end." It is Arminian, and is

based on the denial of the Scriptural truth that it is God who converts the human heart. (Article V. of the Augsburg Confession.) By artificial means—sensational sermons, enraptured prayers, hysterical songs and stirring appeals—the revival preacher aims to replace the work of the Holy Spirit and to force the new birth. Naturally enough, religious instruction lost its importance. The Catechism was neglected. People spoke with more or less scorn of “head Christians,” “memory Christians” and “Catechism Christians.” Since many Lutheran congregations took part in these revivals and since Lutheran ministers often acted as revival preachers, the tendency of the movement was toward unionization of the churches. The books of Baxter, Bunyan, Wesley, Edwards, Howe and Dwight replaced Lutheran literature, and created a taste which could be satisfied only when the sermon harmonized with the ideals of Methodism.

The English-speaking part of the Lutheran Church, most of which belonged to the General Synod, was caught in the current. The German Lutherans were not so greatly affected. However, it should be borne in mind that the men who later founded the General Council were no exceptions. Even a man like Dr. Passavant in that day carried the “new measures” to an extreme. For many years the synodical reports spoke of congregational awakenings and of “ingatherings from the world.” A very vivid picture of such a revival (1839) is given by Dr. S. L. Harkey, himself an ardent advocate of this method. He says: “One of the most remarkable demonstrations of which I have ever heard occurred at this synodical convention. . . . In an instant every soul in the house was upon the knees, and remained there weeping and praying for mercy.” Another writer adds: “At one time during the meeting it was found necessary to invite the mourners to withdraw from the church and remove to the parsonage that the synod might have an opportunity to proceed to its close with the transaction of the business before it.”

It cannot be denied that by use of the milder methods of revivalism the General Synod received many new members who afterwards acquired an appreciation of Lutheran teaching. Many young men were directed into the ministry of the Church. But the end does not justify the means. Much of the gain in membership by these methods was unstable and soon

gone. As a whole, the movement proved detrimental to the development of the Lutheran Church of America.

6. The Effect of Puritan Influences

The two extremes with which the General Synod, rapidly becoming Anglicized, came in constant contact were American Puritanism and German indifferentism. That of these two extremes it preferred the former is readily understood when we consider the religious earnestness of the Puritans, on the one hand, and the worldly, unchurchly attitude of cultured Germans, on the other. For the German immigrants referred to were the Revolutionists of 1848 who were both political and religious radicals whose press carried on a campaign against Christianity and whose societies, such as "Turner" and "Gesangvereine," were generally anti-religious. The great goal of the founders of the General Synod had been personal piety and the propagation of a positive theology. This goal had been consistently kept in view. Thus when the abuse of alcoholic drinks, which characterized the life of anti-religious circles, was opposed by temperance movements, it is not difficult to foresee on which side of the struggle the General Synod would take its stand. Also regarding the observance of Sunday, it joined hands with the Puritans. Thus it gradually leaned toward Puritanism, with which it also shared the English language. A Lutheranism modified by Puritan elements was looked upon as being desirable for America. In this sense we speak of an "American Lutheranism."

7. The Influence of the General Synod on the Period

The General Synod's influence is thus characterized by Dr. Spaeth: "With this powerful influx of rationalism, and with the tendency of the remaining positive elements of our church to assimilate and to unite themselves with the surrounding 'Evangelical denominations,' there was evident danger for the Lutheran Church in America of losing the historical connection with the fathers, and surrendering the distinctive features for which they contended, and as a religious society, becoming simply a member of the Reformed family. At this point of threatening disintegration and dilapidation, the first steps were taken toward the establishment of the General Synod, which was certainly an honest effort to improve the

state of affairs, to gather the scattered members of our Lutheran Church, and to preserve her as such on this Western continent." In this sense Dr. Krauth calls the General Synod "the offspring of reviving Lutheranism." It watched jealously over the independence of the Lutheran Church from other denominations. Church papers to be published had to be Lutheran papers. The Pennsylvania Ministerium, even as late as 1838, looked with favor on the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, edited by Prof. Frederick Schmidt of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., a paper to be published officially in common by the Reformed and Lutherans. Equally important is the stand taken by the General Synod against Socinianizing influences, of which not even the Pennsylvania Ministerium, though less affected than the New York Ministerium, had remained free. In *Lutheran and Missionary* of May 3, 1866, Dr. Krauth writes concerning the Pennsylvania Ministerium: "It felt the latitudinarian tendency of the day; some of its clergy and an immense proportion of its people were averse to the General Synod on the ground of its growing Lutheran character."

And still the General Synod did not succeed in finding the confessional position on which it might, as a leading organization, have been sure of a development without inner dissensions. The fact was simply this, that the General Synod could not go beyond itself and its age. After characterizing the existence of the General Synod as "a very important forward movement" and praising "its influences as beneficial," Dr. Jacobs continued: "It necessarily was not without the weaknesses that characterized the Lutheran Church in America at that time. One who ignores the entire historical development will find much to criticize and condemn, when examined from the standpoint of what is demanded by consistency with accurate theological definitions and clear conceptions of church polity. But he will find just as much that incurs the same judgment in the proceedings of the synods that united to form it. The faults peculiar to each synod were lost, while only the common faults of them all remain."

8. Progress in Doctrinal Development

The first constitution of the General Synod contained no explicit declaration of adherence to the Augsburg Confession. This defect is explained by the tendency of that period, which

was one in which the necessity of a clearly stated doctrinal basis was not yet realized. Consideration, especially for the New York Ministerium and the Pennsylvania Ministerium, prevailed upon the General Synod at its formation to refrain from incorporating doctrinal declarations, even concerning the Augsburg Confession, in its constitution.

— At that time Dr. S. S. Schmucker was a more positive theologian than the majority of his contemporaries. In view of the rationalistic tendencies in the New York Ministerium, he demanded that the Augsburg Confession be raised from the dust and that every clergyman sign the twenty-one articles of faith, and declare before God that they were in harmony with the Bible, not *quatenus*, but *quia*. Dr. D. F. Schaeffer of Frederick, Md., at the installation of Prof. Schmucker at the Gettysburg Seminary used the following language: "Because the faith of our Lutheran Church is based on the Bible and its strongest enemies have been unable to prove an incongruity to speak of between its teaching and that of the Scriptures, just as the foes of truth at the Diet of Worms were unable to detect any errors in the writings of the immortal Luther: therefore this church entrusting you with the training of its ministers (and in its name I demand this solemn vow) obligates you to instruct them in the doctrines which distinguish this church from all others."

Not until 1835 was a paragraph added to the constitution of the General Synod requiring that synods desiring to unite with it should accept the fundamental doctrines of the Bible as taught by our Church. But this fact does not authorize us to say that the General Synod remained all those years without a confessional obligation. For in 1829 it adopted a constitution for its district synods, which in its formula for ordination required an affirmative answer to the following questions:

"1. Do you believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice?"

"2. Do you believe that the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession?"

Even earlier than this, in 1825, the confessional basis of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg was expressed as fol-

lows: "In this Seminary the fundamental doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, as found in the Augsburg Confession, shall be taught in the German and English languages." When the professors were inducted into office they were required to affirm: "I believe that the Augsburg Confession and the Catechisms of Luther are a summary and correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of God's Word."

A closer examination of these confessional obligations, particularly that contained in the formula of ordination, reveals a lack of the necessary clearness and definiteness. The expression "substantially correct" was interpreted by the representatives of the so-called "American Lutheranism" to mean that the Augsburg Confession was not throughout in accordance with the Scriptures, and that they had the right, therefore, to reject such articles as they chose.

A whole series of circumstances worked together toward the originating within the General Synod of a party which gave itself with enthusiasm to the cultivation of the confessional viewpoint. The Tennessee Synod had always, although at times not in the most tactful manner, insisted on the importance of a confessional Lutheranism. The Henkels translated the Book of Concord into English. The Buffalo Synod was founded in 1845, the Missouri Synod in 1847. Walther edited the *Lutheraner*, the contents of which were made the subject of general discussion causing many to realize that the historical platform of Lutheranism had been abandoned. From 1842 to 1866 Pastor Loehe of Neuendettelsau published the *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika*. This monthly not only contained news about mission work in Ohio and the work of men like Wyneken, but undertook to criticise the un-Lutheran character of the General Synod and to laud the rising party of conservative Lutherans. Says Dr. Jacobs: "Even though this journal sometimes was misled in its polemics, and fell into error from the natural tendency of those imperfectly acquainted with the field to give accurate reports, it could not fail to influence the progress of events in this country." The writings of Charles Porterfield Krauth, later compiled in the *Conservative Reformation*, stirred the Lutheran world. Important also was the translation of Schmid's *Doctrinal Theology*. The reaction against the Prussian Union, originating in Breslau with Prof. Scheibel, in-

spired thousands of pens and greatly affected American Lutheran ministers who were able to read German. The writings of Hengstenberg, Sartorius, Rudelbach, Guericke, Thomasius, Harless and Kliefoth were eagerly read and republished in the *Evangelical Review*. Some young theologians, trained in this school, arrived from Germany and assumed leadership even in the synods of the General Synod. One benefit resulting from the close alliance between the Lutherans and the Reformed of that time was the strong stand taken by the Reformed against Methodist revivalism, which had caused such a commotion in Pennsylvania (the "Mercersburg theology"). An instreaming immigration filled the emptied churches with sound Lutheran stock. Dr. Philip Schaff, though himself Reformed, spoke during a course of lectures, delivered at a convention in Frankfort in 1845, of a left wing in the General Synod and also of salutary influences exerted by the Lutheran ministers of the Eastern States who had studied German theology. This remark about a "left wing in the General Synod" made a painful impression in America on those who had hitherto considered Dr. Schaff an advocate of "American Lutheranism." The *Deutscher Kirchenfreund*, edited by Schaff (1848) and continued by Rev. W. J. Mann, although an organ for German-American churches, proved a valuable support to the *Evangelical Review*, and a mighty stronghold against the extravagances which threatened to demoralize the Lutherans as well as the Reformed. All these factors contributed toward creating and strengthening a conservative Lutheran party within the General Synod.

9. Variety in Practice

Corresponding to the confessional confusion of the period was a wide variety in practice. Muhlenberg's liturgy had not come into general use. Some pastors made their own revisions of it. Others used no liturgy at all. The tendency of "American Lutheranism" was essentially anti-liturgical. In many parts the communion was not restricted to Lutherans, but an invitation was given to all Evangelical Christians. Unusual and often un-Lutheran practices prevailed in the administration of baptism. An instance of record is the resolution of the East Ohio Synod in 1860 censuring certain pastors for practicing immersion in baptism. Other instances of

variety in practice and opinion in such matters as clerical robes, communion wafers, church architecture, etc., will be found in the reminiscences of Dr. Morris in his *Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry*.

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CHAPTER V

DISRUPTION OF THE GENERAL SYNOD

1. Contending Elements

The preceding chapter has described the rise of a conservative party in the General Synod. This party was strengthened by the position and publications of the Synod of Tennessee and the aggressive Lutheran attitude of the newly arrived Lutherans in New York and Missouri. The Lutheran reaction in Germany against the Prussian Union aided this American movement. Meanwhile the conservatives in the General Synod were developing leadership, notably in Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth.

The leading spirits in the General Synod reacted against this conservative movement. Reared in the atmosphere of revivalism and closely associating with Puritan circles, their idea of piety had gradually become different from that of the Lutheran Church. Lacking an English Lutheran literature, the new liberals were drawing their ideals of piety from English models like Baxter, Bunyan, Wesley, Edwards, Howe and Dwight. The vigorous polemics of the rising Missouri Synod, which were prototyped by those of the Tennessee Synod and now carried on in the *Lutheraner*, edited by Prof. Walther, served the party of "American Lutheranism" as a constant warning against an ultra conservatism. They frequently referred to the "Symbolists" within and without the General Synod and pictured them as extremists of the most dangerous sort. They persuaded themselves that the Lutheranism imported from Germany was largely colored with local peculiarities which should be abandoned on American soil.

2. Kurtz and Schmucker

The leaders in this movement were particularly Kurtz and Schmucker, with Sprecher representing them in the west. These men exercised a great influence upon the Lutheran Church of that day. Schmucker must be recognized as the greatest of the three. His influence was simply enormous.

He was admired for his tremendous capacity for work. His literary activity was unceasing. He wrote forty-four books and pamphlets. And never did the Lutheran Church of America have greater executive talents at its disposal. The effect of his teaching and writing upon the church at large was profound. During his early years his views were more Lutheran than most of his contemporaries. Later, however, when confessional Lutheranism came into its own, he was one of its strongest opponents, fighting the "Symbolists" with speech and pen. His liberal viewpoint was expressed in detailed form in his *Popular Theology*, a book that went through eight editions.

While Schmucker was establishing his views from his professor's chair, Kurtz was exercising his influence through the columns of the *Lutheran Observer*. He was a man of extraordinary talents and a zealous advocate of "American Lutheranism" and "New Measures." Commenting on Dr. Nevin's critical analysis of the methods of revivalism, Dr. Kurtz wrote: "Whatever Prof. Nevin may have written in the abstraction of his study, I am nevertheless strongly convinced, as a pastor, that the so-called 'anxious bench' is the lever of Archimedes, which by the blessing of God can raise our German churches to that degree of respectability in the religious world which they ought to enjoy." As editor he exerted a tremendous influence on a large portion of the American Lutheran Church. All of his work was manly. His pen was feared. He never wrote better than when replying to an attack or when challenging the opposition. He sharply attacked the "Symbolists" and Dr. Krauth.

It is not fair to speak contemptuously of these men, for they were absolutely sincere in their devotion to their church. They had convictions which were perfectly in harmony with their training, their time and their environment. The question how Lutheranism can have a national development on American soil and how it can adjust itself to its environment are even today problems for our English-speaking Lutherans. It was certainly not surprising that the leaders of the General Synod at a time when large parts of the Lutheran Church became English, considered the question, especially at the time of unionism in the Fatherland, whether it was not the sacred duty of the Lutheran Church of this country to ac-

commodate itself to the American spirit by making some concessions to the surrounding denominations.

They made a mistake in discarding historical Lutheranism. However, had Schmucker and his colleagues succeeded in avoiding their mistake, their very policy would have been tried by others some time in the history of our Church, because of a real problem involved. In this sense these men have done a service to the Church. We have learned from their mistake. This opinion is also shared by Dr. Mann, whose article in the *Kirchenfreund* continues thus: "The more we study the history of Lutheranism in this country the more natural appear the different stages of its development. No one is particularly to blame. The age and its tendencies fully explain it. Least of all should we belittle the merit of those men who, by establishing educational institutions for the Lutheran Church, tried to make sure of its future progress. It was such a beginning as circumstances permitted. But whosoever will at this time refuse to unite with the change for the better which has taken place or oppose the recovered self-respect of Lutheranism, its God-given individuality—he is guilty indeed."

3. The Definite Platform

In September, 1855, a document circulated through the mails entitled, *Definite Synodical Platform*, containing an American Recension of the Augsburg Confession. Though published anonymously, it was soon known that Drs. Schmucker, Kurtz and Sprecher, especially the first, professor at Gettysburg, were its authors. This revised edition of the Augsburg Confession, in connection with the preface given, presented an appeal to adopt the platform of an "American Lutheranism" that had rid itself of some errors said to be contained in the old historical document. The sanction of ceremonies during the Mass is struck from the 24th article of the Augsburg Confession. Eliminated from Article II was the sentence stating that the new birth takes place through Baptism and the Holy Ghost; from Article VIII the declaration that the blessings of the Lord's Supper are not dependent on the worthiness of the officiating minister; from Article IX the statement that through Baptism grace is offered. Article X reads in its revised form: "In regard to the Lord's Supper

they teach that Christ is present with the communicants in the Lord's Supper, 'under the emblem of bread and wine.'" Article XI had been dropped entirely because it commended private confession.

4. The Origin of the Definite Platform

Even ten years previous to the publication of this document influential men in the General Synod had thought of a condensed platform on which American Lutheranism could build its future. During a convention of the Maryland Synod in 1844, Prof. H. L. Baugher, Dr. B. Kurtz and Rev. S. W. Harkey were appointed a committee for the purpose of forming an "Abstract of the Doctrines and Practice of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland." The essential points were presented in fourteen articles. All distinctive Lutheran teachings were omitted or repudiated. The report was returned to the committee, and their report at the next meeting of the synod was laid on the table.

The matter was submitted to the convention of the General Synod at Philadelphia, 1845. Says *The Evangelical Review*: "At this meeting Drs. Schmucker, Morris, Schmidt, Pohlman and Kurtz were appointed to prepare and report to the next convention a clear and concise view of the doctrines and practice of the American Lutheran Church. The committee had the subject under consideration until the meeting held in Charleston, S. C., in 1850. The report presented by them was laid on the table, and they were discharged from further duty. The opinion prevailed among the committee and in the convention that this was a subject upon which it was inexpedient to legislate. Differences on unimportant points, it was acknowledged, did exist in the Church, but it was not within the province of the General Synod to adopt a platform or establish any test which would necessarily exclude from its connection many whose recognition as Lutherans could not be questioned."

Drs. Schmucker, Kurtz and Sprecher had a particularly vital interest in this confessional "Abstract." The committee, even before the document had been disposed of by the Charleston convention, had sent a printed copy of it to every pastor of the General Synod, inviting them to express their

opinion by annotations and marginal notes. After the copies were returned, a revised edition, embodying the different suggestions, was sent the second time for the purpose of further consideration. Says Dr. Kurtz: "The want of it has long been felt and expressed. From the North and the South, the East and the West we have been asked for something of this nature. . . . We find no difficulty in subscribing the document and presenting it as a fair, honest exhibition of Lutheran doctrine and practice as understood in the latitude in which we reside; and if we are not greatly mistaken, the great mass of our American ministers throughout the land would not make any material objection to it." Dr. S. S. Schmucker was so pleased with the "Abstract" that he referred to it again and again in his lectures and articles, and even made his students commit to memory its principles and statements setting forth the exact tenets of "American Lutheranism." Also Dr. Sprecher urged the necessity of making a bold and an honest statement. In a writing of 1853 he underscored the words "a creed we must have."

These were the discussions and considerations of the men representing "American Lutheranism" at the time of the preparation of the Definite Platform. Dr. S. S. Schmucker, its real author, with his facile pen for such work, gave to it the finished form. Though the document appeared anonymously, according to Schmucker's own admission he had written every sentence himself and had merely submitted it for approval to his friend, Dr. Kurtz, immediately before its publication.

5. The Reception of the Definite Platform

The document found little sympathetic response. It was adopted by only three small synods—East Ohio, Wittenberg, and Olive Branch Synods. Five synods—Hartwick, South-western Virginia, Alleghany, Miami, and Central Pennsylvania—refused to adopt the Platform for various reasons but condemned the errors alleged in the document. The other fifteen synods either flatly rejected the whole document or took no official notice of it. Only now did it become evident that the advocates of "American Lutheranism" were few in number. Dr. Schmucker and his associates experienced a disappointment from which, with the exception of Dr. Sprecher, they did

not recover. Men expected to affiliate with "American Lutherism" condemned the movement in strongest language. They saw in it not only an attempt to mutilate the venerable Augsburg Confession, but also a plan for excluding from the General Synod the stricter Lutherans, the so-called "Symbolists."

The strongest literary refutation was written by J. W. Mann, pastor of the German Lutheran Church of Philadelphia. It was entitled, *A Plea for the Augsburg Confession*, and was published by the General Synod's Lutheran Board of Publication. Dr. Schmucker opposed to it his *American Lutheranism Vindicated*, a book of two hundred pages, which the Publication Society of the General Synod refused to publish and for which he had to find a private publisher. The General Synod would not permit the committee to proceed further with the "Abstract." One of the chief objections persistently urged was the charge that the "Definite Platform," once adopted, would drive from the General Synod a number of Lutherans now connected with it. Typical of the refutations of individual synods was that of the East Pennsylvania Synod, which at its convention in Lebanon, Pa., passed the following resolution prepared by Dr. J. A. Brown: "Resolved that we hereby express our unqualified disapprobation of this most dangerous attempt to change the doctrinal basis and revolutionize the existing character of the Lutheran Churches now united in the General Synod and that we hereby most solemnly warn our sister synods," etc. The author of this resolution eventually went so far as to formulate charges against S. S. Schmucker for heretical teaching, and later also against Dr. Sprecher. It was through the influence of Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth that these charges were not taken up by the Board of Directors at the Gettysburg Seminary. When Dr. Schmucker resigned his professor's chair in the seminary in 1864, Dr. Brown was elected as his successor.

All of this proves that the General Synod as a body cannot be held responsible for the "Definite Platform." It is true that the mistake was made by prominent members of the General Synod, but it is also a fact that the popularity of these men suffered greatly after the publication of the Platform. Dr. Krauth wrote that this error consisted in the fact that they "mistook a tendency, half developed, for a final result."

6. The Admission of the Melanchthon Synod

Under the leadership of Dr. B. Kurtz the Melanchthon Synod was formed in Maryland in 1857. It was claimed that the existence of a new district synod of the General Synod in the territory of the Maryland Synod was justified on the principle of "elective affinity." That is to say that everyone should have the opportunity of belonging to a synod that was congenial to his point of view. The advanced "American Lutheranism" of this synod was heralded as its chief attraction. It had been closely modeled after the doctrinal standards of the Evangelical Alliance. While accepting the Augsburg Confession, it repudiated certain of its doctrines alleged to be errors and omitted from the "Definite Platform." At the meeting of the General Synod at Pittsburgh in 1857 the Melanchthon Synod applied for admission. A conflict seemed imminent. The liberal party, numerically superior, was vigorously opposed by a conservative element. The younger Krauth served as a mediator. He favored the reception of the synod, but "affectionately requested" the brethren of that body to erase the implied charges against the Augsburg Confession. The votes stood 98 to 26 in favor of admission. The delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Scandinavians of the Synod of Northern Illinois voted in the negative.

7. The Exodus of the Swedes

In the Synod of Northern Illinois, a district synod of the General Synod, there was a large number of Swedes. In 1859 they formed about one-half of the whole synod. They were divided into three conferences: Chicago, Mississippi and Minnesota. At Springfield, Ill., they coöperated with the English part of their synod in the management of the Illinois State University where W. M. Reynolds was president and S. W. Harkey was professor of theology. In 1856 Prof. L. P. Esbjorn took charge of the Scandinavian department. These Scandinavians did not really agree with their English-speaking brethren in doctrine, but they did not know where else to turn for the education of a ministry. They, however, had the satisfaction of causing the Northern Illinois Synod to speak of the Augsburg Confession as "a correct and true summary of the teachings of the Christian religion."

But soon they came to the parting of the ways. In the Jubilee edition of the history of the Augustana Synod is found the following remark: "During subsequent years a number of 'new Lutherans' were received who recognized no standards of doctrine and who did all in their power to tear down every barrier which might hinder the instream of free thought." Esbjorn and Hasselquist, as delegates to the General Synod at Pittsburgh in 1857, returned with sore hearts over the reception of the Melancthon Synod. The plan to withdraw was maturing among the Scandinavians at the time that trouble arose between Esbjorn and some other professors at Springfield, Ill. Esbjorn resigned suddenly in April, 1860, and moved to Chicago. The Scandinavian students, with the exception of two, went with him. At a gathering in Chicago this step was justified by the Scandinavians who, dissolving their connection with the Synod of Northern Illinois, founded the Augustana Synod, then largely composed of Swedes, Danes and Norwegians.

8. Withdrawal of the Southern Synods

The disrupting effects of the Civil War raging in the United States (1861 to 1865) were felt also in the church. The General Synod passed resolutions condemning the secession of the southern states and calling for loyal support of the federal government. The southern pastors and congregations regarded the resolutions as being aimed at them. They believed that the political separation between the South and the North would be permanent. They therefore resolved upon ecclesiastical separation also. Accordingly four synods, namely, the North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Southwest Virginia, left the General Synod in 1863. The following year, together with the Synod of Georgia, they organized the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Confederate States of America.

9. The Admission of the Franckean Synod

The Franckean Synod, founded in 1837 as a branch of the Hartwick Synod, had never accepted the Augsburg Confession. It had adopted a few general principles, and had issued a "Declaration" in which the Lord's Supper is spoken of "as a token of faith in the atonement of Christ, and of

brotherly love." A resolution of the General Synod, passed as early as 1839, had mentioned the Tennessee Synod and the Franckean Synod as two extremes endangering the unity of Lutheranism. But in 1857 the General Synod, wishing to retract this resolution regarding the Tennessee Synod, found it difficult to decline similar action concerning the Franckean Synod. This caused the Franckean Synod to seek admission into the General Synod, hoping, no doubt, that since the Melancthon Synod had been received, it might be equally successful.

At the twenty-first convention of the General Synod at York, Pa., May 5th, 1864, the admission of the Franckean Synod was argued on the very first day. A committee under the chairmanship of Dr. H. N. Pohlman reported as follows: "That the Franckean Synod be admitted as an integral part of the General Synod as soon as it shall give formal expression to its adoption of the Augsburg Confession as received by the General Synod." This was satisfactory to the Conservatives, who were contending for the principle that no synod should become a part of the General Synod which did not accept formally the Augsburg Confession. They held that if this rule was not to be applied, the districts of the general body would be kept in a feeling of uncertainty as to the future security of their confessional position. But the adoption of the resolution was not the end of the affair. The delegates of the Franckean Synod, on the following day, asked for its reconsideration, declaring that by accepting the constitution of the General Synod, they thought that they had also accepted its confession of faith. After a lengthy and earnest debate, the Franckean Synod was accepted with the understanding that it should, at its next convention, adopt the Augsburg Confession as its doctrinal basis. The votes stood 97 to 40. This was taken to mean that a synod might enter the General Synod even though it had not yet accepted the Augsburg Confession, but had merely indicated its intention to do so.

Matters were even more complicated because the Franckean Synod had already adopted, in place of the Augsburg Confession, an independent declaration of faith, excluding several features of Lutheranism. And why did it not adopt the Augsburg Confession at the same meeting at which it sought admission into the General Synod? This was the argument

of the Conservatives. The Liberals, on the other hand, and those who had been won over to their viewpoint, argued that the Franckean Synod, while not formally complying with the conditions of admission, had done so to all intents and purposes; that other synods had been received under similar circumstances; that the constitution admitted of varied interpretations.

As a matter of fact, the General Synod, at the time of its organization in 1820, had not dared to be too rigid in its doctrinal demands. Particularly the New York Ministerium and also the Ministerium of Pennsylvania would, at that time, have been opposed to incorporating a confessional paragraph, such as the General Synod gave to its district synod in 1829, into the constitution of the general body. At that time the separate synods were too jealous of their rights. In 1835 the General Synod finally took courage to declare that only those synods should be accepted which believed in the fundamental doctrines of the Bible "as taught by our Church."

10. Hegemony of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania

On this declaration of 1835 and also upon the statement of the constitution that "all regularly constituted Lutheran synods can be admitted if they accept the constitution and send delegates, etc.," the Conservatives, now chiefly led by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, based their arguments. The chairman of the delegation from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania read a protest against the admission of the Franckean Synod. He called it a violation of the constitution, which speaks of the admission of only "Lutheran" synods. Lutheran synods were those which accepted the fundamental doctrines of the Bible "as taught by our church." This meant the Augsburg Confession. But at no time in its history had the Franckean Synod adopted the Augsburg Confession. For this reason it could not be regarded as a properly constituted Lutheran synod. By admitting it, violence was being done to the constitution of the General Synod. This protest was signed by the entire delegation of ten from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and also by delegates of the following synods: Pittsburgh (4), New York (4), Illinois (3), Maryland (2), East Pennsylvania (1), Olive Branch (1), Ohio (1), Iowa (1), Northern Illinois (1), a total of twenty-eight signatures.

At the same time another document was submitted in which the Pennsylvania Ministerium declared its withdrawal from the sessions of the General Synod on the ground that the conditions of affiliation originally agreed upon in 1853 had been broken. Among the resolutions passed at the time of the reunion of the Pennsylvania Ministerium with the General Synod was the statement "that, should the General Synod violate its constitution, and require of our synod, or of any synod, as a condition of admission or continuance of membership, assent to anything conflicting with the old and long-established faith of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, then our delegates are hereby required to protest against such action, to withdraw from its sessions and to report to this body."

A spirit different from that of the General Synod pervaded the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. In 1853, the year of its reunion with the General Synod, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania acknowledged "the collective body of the Symbolical Books as the historico-confessional writings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and that we also, like the Evangelical Lutheran Church of former times, accord to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism an especial importance among our Symbolical Books generally." Considering further the cautious language used in connection with its step into the General Synod, we get some idea how doctrinal matters had changed in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Another of the set of resolutions advocating reunion with the general body reads: "That this synod regards the General Synod simply as an association of Evangelical Lutheran synods, entertaining the same views of the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel as these are expressed in the confessional writings of our Evangelical Lutheran Church and especially in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, and that we advert to the fact that the General Synod is denied the right by its constitution of making any innovations or alteration of this faith. See Article 3, Section 2, 3."

The change of view in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, formerly willing to make common cause with the Reformed, is an historical phenomenon that calls for an explanation. This is to be found in the following considerations: 1) The Ministerium of Pennsylvania was predominantly German,

and as such would have a natural aversion toward the revival movements which did so much to obliterate the spirit of Lutheranism in the English parts of the Lutheran Church. Here the Ministerium was on common ground with the Reformed. Note that the strongest protest against revivalism came from the Mercersburg Seminary (Dr. Nevin). 2) When the Lutheran Church in Germany experienced its great reaction against the Prussian Union in the rising of men like Claus Harms, Scheibel, Stahl, Guericke, Rudelbach, Ludwig Harms, Loehe, Besser, Wangemann and many others, a great literature sprang up, which revived Lutheran consciousness in the Fatherland. Such influences must have been felt more in a German body like the Ministerium of Pennsylvania than in the more Anglicized districts of the General Synod. Also the ministers who came over from Germany during this period under the influence of a revived Lutheran consciousness would naturally go into the bodies where the German language was especially used. So gradually the Ministerium began to grow in Lutheran convictions, and became opposed to the formerly cherished idea of a future union with the Reformed. 3) And then it must be remembered that in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania there had always been the use of Luther's catechism and the thoroughly evangelical hymns of the Lutheran Church, while in the English synods the catechism was often not used or was greatly depreciated, and the strong German hymns were replaced by the sentiments of Methodism and Puritanism. Here all the German synods, Tennessee, Joint Ohio and Pennsylvania, had an advantage over the rapidly Anglicizing parts of the Lutheran Church. 4) In addition to all this, we must remember the strong organizing influence of such great men as Drs. C. F. Schaeffer, W. J. Mann, G. F. Krotel, C. P. Krauth the younger, W. A. Passavant, B. M. Schmucker and others.

11. The York Statement of Doctrine

While the withdrawal of the Pennsylvania delegation was keenly felt, it had a salutary effect on the future of the General Synod. At this same convention resolutions were passed giving a clearer definition of the confessional basis to be recognized by synods desiring to unite with the General Synod. The York Statement was a resolution which read:

"This synod, resting on the Word of God as the sole authority in matters of faith, on its infallible warrant rejects the Romish doctrines of the real presence of transubstantiation, and with it the doctrine of consubstantiation; rejects the mass, and all ceremonies distinctive of the mass; denies any power in the Sacrament as an *opus operatum*, or that the blessings of baptism and of the Lord's Supper can be received without faith; rejects auricular confession and priestly absolution; holds that there is no priesthood on earth except that of all believers, and that God only can forgive sins; and maintains the sacred obligation of the Lord's Day; and while we would with our whole heart reject any part of any confession which taught doctrines in conflict with this our testimony, nevertheless, before God and His Church, we declare that, in our judgment, the Augsburg Confession, properly interpreted, is in perfect consistence with this our testimony and with Holy Scripture as regards the errors specified."

This resolution was originally prepared by Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth and adopted by the Pittsburgh Synod in 1856 at Zelienople, Pa., in connection with resolutions directed against the "Definite Platform." It was, however, never more than a resolution, lacking the sanction of the district synods as required by the constitution to be binding.

This York convention did something more. It proposed a constitutional amendment to Article 3, Section 3. In its original form it stated that "all regularly constituted Lutheran synods holding the fundamental doctrines of the Bible as taught by our church, not now in connection with the General Synod, may at any time become associated with it by adopting this constitution and sending delegates," etc. But the amendment went much further: "All regularly constituted Lutheran synods, not now in connection with the General Synod, receiving and holding, with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the Word of God as contained in the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine Word, and of the faith of our church, founded upon the Word, may at any time," etc. This amendment was sent to the district synods, and when adopted by them became part of the constitution of the General Synod.

12. The Founding of the Philadelphia Seminary

At the 117th convention of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania held at Pottstown, Pa., May 25, 1864, a few days after the return of the delegates who had withdrawn from the York convention of the General Synod, it was decided to establish a separate theological seminary. This was no new idea. As early as 1846 Dr. C. R. Demme of Philadelphia had been delegated by the Ministerium to collect a library and to educate young men for the ministry. This was done to counteract Dr. S. S. Schmucker's influence at Gettysburg. While the Germans, such as Pastor S. K. Brobst, editor of *Theologische Monatshefte*, had been urging the movement, the English Lutherans delayed action, hoping that things might become more hopeful at Gettysburg.

Dr. S. S. Schmucker resigned in February, 1864. The conservatives wanted Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth to be his successor in the Gettysburg seminary. The seminary board of directors were not to hold a meeting for the election of a professor until August of 1864. But it was common knowledge at the time of the convention of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in May that a majority of the board favored the election of Dr. J. A. Brown. In this choice an opportunity for conciliation was passed by.

A schism seemed imminent in the General Synod. Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, in his opening speech as president of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, May 25, 1864, urged the founding of a separate seminary. His proposal was unanimously adopted. In a special meeting in July at Allentown the details were worked out. Drs. Charles Porterfield Krauth, W. J. Mann and C. F. Schaeffer were elected professors *ordinarii*, and C. W. Schaeffer and G. F. Krotel as professors *extraordinarii*. The seminary was to be founded on the unconditional acceptance of all the symbols of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. It was opened on October fifth. Several Gettysburg students went to the new institution at Philadelphia. Prof. C. F. Schaeffer, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania professor at Gettysburg, accepted the chair at Philadelphia. The relations between the two institutions became strained. A literary war was carried on between Dr. Krauth and Dr. Brown. When Dr. Charles Philip Krauth heard of the founding of the new

seminary, he is said to have exclaimed with a heavy heart, "Now a division of the church cannot be avoided."

In the light of this action, the withdrawal of the delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at York appeared as the climax of a long contemplated movement on the part of that body to oppose to the doctrinal basis of the General Synod a new confessional tendency. The question was asked, "Is the Ministerium of Pennsylvania still a part of the General Synod?" When, at the meeting of the board of directors of the Gettysburg Seminary, the representatives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania wished to take part, they were not recognized because their synod had ceased by its action at York to be a part of the General Synod. This point of view was not shared by the Ministerium delegates, who asserted that a break from the General Synod had not been intended. Dr. Spaeth says: "It must be admitted that the clearer judgment and more consistent logic was on the side of the radical wing of the General Synod. They showed a thorough appreciation of the real situation."

13. The Fort Wayne Convention

The twenty-second convention of the General Synod was opened at Fort Wayne, Indiana, on the morning of May 17, 1866. At that time this body comprised two-thirds of the Lutherans in America. Those who had followed developments during the preceding two years had reason to look forward to this notable gathering with a feeling of fear that something serious might take place. After the convention at York, *The Lutheran Observer* had viewed the situation from every point of the compass. In the edition of October 21, 1864, it carried an article on the "Coming Theological Conflict," in which the fear was expressed that the Church might be increasingly dominated by the conservative minority led by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and articulate by means of *The Lutheran and Missionary*, the new seminary, and a number of liturgical publications.

Intense bitterness was felt against the Ministerium of Pennsylvania on account of the withdrawal of its delegation from the York convention and the founding of the Philadelphia Seminary. The younger Dr. Krauth had exposed the shallowness of "American Lutheranism" in many able articles in the

Lutheran and Missionary, of which he was editor from 1861 to 1867. The extreme Liberalists in the General Synod, who, however, had not such a majority of votes that they could carry any measure without the aid of others with whom they were often at swords' points, aimed to exclude the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at this convention, if it could be done. The *Lutheran Observer* presented the view that since the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had withdrawn from the General Synod, it would have to be regularly reinstated before it could be recognized. It argued that the delegates from this synod would have to pay their own expenses to Fort Wayne, that their credentials would be laid on the table until after organization and that their case would be submitted to a committee which, at the close of the convention, would report that, if the delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania were to attend on the same basis as the delegates of other synods, they would be admitted, but not otherwise. The *Lutheran* knew (through a note directed by Dr. S. S. Schmucker to his son, Dr. Beal M. Schmucker, a delegate to General Synod) that an extensive correspondence had been carried on between prominent men of the General Synod, many of whom were delegates to the Fort Wayne convention, to the effect that the Ministerium of Pennsylvania should no longer be regarded as a part of the General Synod.

The church papers of the Joint Synod of Ohio and of the Missouri Synod expressed regret that the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had not immediately at its meeting in Pottstown withdrawn from the General Synod. Dr. S. K. Brobst in the *Lutherische Zeitschrift* replied that the mother-synod should be given time to proceed slowly, that she would have separated from the General Synod years ago if it had not been for the investments and rights at Gettysburg. The problem would soon be solved, however, by the establishment of a new seminary. On the other side, Dr. Brown, in a speech lasting an hour at Fort Wayne, declared that negotiations had taken place and that "noses had been counted" by the opposition, resulting in the information that fourteen synods were ready to secede and to build over the ruins of the General Synod a new organization. Synodical politics played a prominent part all around.

At all events, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania elected regular delegates to the convention at Fort Wayne. Its clerical representatives were J. A. Seiss, chairman, C. P. Krauth, G. F. Krotel, C. W. Schaeffer, S. K. Brobst, and B. M. Schmucker. Why were these delegates sent to Fort Wayne? Dr. Spaeth quotes Dr. Charles Philip Krauth as having declared that the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was right in withdrawing at York, but wrong in sending delegates to Fort Wayne. Indeed its action is difficult to understand. It stated that it was encouraged by the intention of the General Synod expressed at York to embody in its constitution a confessional paragraph binding upon all synods. But the opponents suspected that a delegation had been sent to Fort Wayne to place the odium of schism on the General Synod. When there is mutual distrust there is easily a lack of charity in interpreting the motives for an action. Perhaps there was not entire unity of view in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The Germans, to be sure, were united in their determination to separate, but many of the English, like Dr. Krauth, felt attached to the General Synod with many tender ties and did not want to leave it unless the step was absolutely necessary.

Dr. Samuel Sprecher, head of Wittenberg College, presided when the convention opened at Fort Wayne. Eleven synods had handed in credentials for their delegations and had been recognized when the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was refused recognition. Dr. Sprecher, after stating that he was fulfilling a painful duty, offered the following reason: since the delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had severed their connection with the General Synod at York, he was forced to rule that by such action the Ministerium had withdrawn from the partnership of the synods in the governing functions of the General Synod, and therefore forfeited its right of taking part in the election of officers; he added that he would not ask for credentials from its delegates nor give recognition to them until after the credentials of synods whose standing was not questioned had been passed upon; at that time an opportunity would be given for any appeal against the decision of the chair. Dr. Seiss persistently submitted the credentials of his delegation, but Dr. Sprecher, with the same persistency, refused to consider them. Dr. Krauth wished to know on what authority the president was basing

his decision. Dr. Sprecher replied that it was not a question of authority by which he could exclude the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, but a question of lack of authority for admitting it. Delegates of other synods, favoring the Ministerium, asked to be heard but were ruled out of order. The morning session adjourned.

At the opening of the afternoon session, Dr. Sprecher gave his decision which is on record as follows: "The chair regards the act of delegates of the Pennsylvania Synod, by which they severed their practical relations with the General Synod, and withdrew from the partnership of the synods in the governing functions of the General Synod, as the act of the Synod of Pennsylvania, and that consequently that synod was out of practical union with the General Synod up to the adjournment of the last convention, and as we cannot know officially what the action of that synod has been since, she must be considered as in that state of practical withdrawal from the governing functions of the General Synod, until the General Synod can receive a report of an act restoring her practical relations to the General Synod; and as no such report can be received until said synod is organized, the chair cannot know any paper offered at this stage of the proceedings of the synod, as a certificate of delegation to this body." No discussion was permitted at this point. After the roll call of the synods and before the election of officers, the chairman of the Ministerium delegation once more submitted the credentials of his delegation, but without success. A delegate of another synod appealed from the decision of the chair. The vote taken on this appeal sustained the president by 77 to 24.

Officers were now elected. Dr. J. A. Brown, the successor of Dr. S. S. Schmucker at Gettysburg, was elected president. The delegation from the Pennsylvania Ministerium had withdrawn, and was determined not to make another attempt at recognition. They held that the withdrawal of their delegation at York did not affect their right to be represented in the organization of the General Synod.

After the election of officers and the exodus of the Pennsylvania delegation, the case of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was thoroughly discussed. Arguments lasting two days and a half, were presented and the following resolutions forwarded through Secretary M. Sheeleigh to the delegates of the

Ministerium of Pennsylvania still in the city: 1) That this Synod regard the condition annexed by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to the appointment of the delegates as contrary to that equality among the synods composing this body provided for by the Constitution of this Synod. 2) That whatever motives of Christian forbearance may have induced this Synod to receive the Pennsylvania delegates in 1853 with this condition, the unfavorable influences since exerted by it render it very desirable that said condition be rescinded by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. 3) That the General Synod hereby expresses its entire willingness to receive the delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. 4) That the delegates from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania be requested to waive what may seem to them an irregular organization of this body, and to acquiesce in the present organization."

After a lengthy discussion of this proposition the delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania appeared for the first time, after their withdrawal, on the floor of the convention to read their reply. They were asked to present their credentials. This they refused, but they handed in a copy of their synodical protocol containing a list of delegates. They refused, on principle, to hand in their real credentials because these had been previously rejected by the organization. At the conclusion of their explicit reply, they declared: "Whatever impression our course may have made upon some minds, and whatever rumors may have been circulated in reference to factious and schismatic movements of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, we can say with a good conscience that we have not sought division, but have waited for union and are ready to coöperate in the General Synod—provided: That this body shall now declare that the Synod of Pennsylvania had, as it claimed to have, the constitutional right to be represented before the election of officers and take part in it and might now justly claim the right of casting its vote. If the convention shall so declare, we are perfectly willing to waive the right of voting, will acquiesce in the present organization, and will take our seats in this body, equals among equals."

It is interesting to know that after discussing this reply the chairman, Dr. Brown, left the chair and offered this resolution: "Resolved, that having heard the statement and explanation of the delegation of the Synod of Pennsylvania, we recog-

nize said synod as a constitutional part of this body and direct the names of the delegates to be entered upon the roll." After discussing this resolution the convention adjourned until the next morning. Says Dr. Jacobs: "The purpose of the majority was not to exclude the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, but to compel its delegates to apply for re-admission, and then to re-admit the Ministerium, with the condition which the Ministerium attached to its admission in 1853 annulled, or the request made that the Ministerium should itself annul it. The right of delegates to withdraw and report to their synod when an act which seemed to them unconstitutional was passed, was no longer to be admitted. This was the point of contention during the days of debate that followed."

It should be added that the delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania were elected at Easton in 1865 with the understanding 1. "that this synod has in no sense ceased to approve of the protest and the withdrawal of its delegates from the convention at York;" 2. and that it "still reserves the privilege (expressed in the resolutions passed on the occasion of the election of delegates to the General Synod in 1853) which prompted the action of its delegation at the convention of York in 1864." Such strong emphasis, showing the unyielding spirit of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in this respect, caused alarm among the majority party of the General Synod. It was regarded as exceedingly dangerous at this time of restlessness in the General Synod to leave such a dynamite box under the delicate structure of the organization. The Rev. Joel Swartz finally offered the following amendment: "Resolved, that after hearing the response of the delegates of the Pennsylvania Synod, we cannot conscientiously recede from the action taken by this body, believing, after full and careful deliberation, said action to have been regular and constitutional; but that we affirm our readiness to receive the delegates of said synod as soon as they present their credentials in due form."

We shall close the recital of this epoch-making struggle by quoting from the pamphlet, *The Pennsylvania Synod*: "The resolution (of Rev. J. Swartz) was brought before the house, and on motion it was agreed to vote without debate. The yeas and nays were called, and there were seventy-six who

voted for the resolution and thirty-two who voted against it, while seven declined to vote. After the adoption of the resolution, a motion was made to reconsider the vote just taken, followed by another to lay this motion to reconsider on the table, the effect of which was, and was proclaimed to be, to prevent the convention from again considering the subject. Thus did the majority firmly and positively burn the bridge behind them."

The chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation arose and declared that he considered the decision of the convention as final, and that there was nothing left for his delegation but to withdraw and report to their synod. He added, however, that in accord with the position originally taken, such a step had no bearing on the relation of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to the General Synod. Dr. J. A. Brown, president of the General Synod, replied that the General Synod by no means considered the Ministerium of Pennsylvania as being out of the organization. But the rupture had been made, and, as the sequel proved, could not be healed at that time.

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania had many friends among other synods, with whom their delegation held various meetings regarding possible steps that might have to be taken should the Ministerium of Pennsylvania secede. It was agreed first to issue a protest against the action of the General Synod. This protest, read by Dr. W. A. Passavant, was signed by twenty-two delegates of different synods: New York (4), Pittsburgh (5), English Synod of Ohio (4), Iowa (3), Northern Illinois (3), Northern Indiana (3), Minnesota (1), Hartwick (1), Illinois (1).

Looking back over that struggle from this distance in time, it becomes evident that many motives were operating to produce the result. Which of these was most influential it is neither possible nor valuable to decide. Confessional differences shaped attitudes toward issues. On the one side stood a group contending for theological conservatism, for a distinctively Lutheran liturgical practice, and for a seminary faculty pledged to all the symbolical books. Opposing that group were those not unsympathetic to "American Lutheranism." The final convention vote did not, however, represent this cleavage; it was not a defeat of conservatism. Men truly

conservative in theological position were to be found in the majority party, and their influence in the General Synod was destined to predominate.

At Fort Wayne two views of church government opposed each other. In the General Synod, the majority wanted a general church body with legislative power over the district synods. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania, on the other hand, would concede only advisory and coöperative functions to the General Synod; the real power was to lie in the hands of the synods. The withdrawal of the Ministerium's delegates at the York convention precipitated the issue. It must be remembered that the nation had but very recently concluded a conflict over "secession."

Loyalty to the General Synod and a desire for its perpetuity operated, not only to induce liberals to reject the "Definite Synodical Platform" as endangering the unity of the general body, but also to secure the votes of some conservatives for the majority party at Fort Wayne. These men felt that the continued existence of the General Synod was imperative. The group opposed to them made their loyalty to the General Synod subordinate to their loyalty to historic Lutheran principles concerning which they had convictions too dear to be compromised.

The influence of the personalities of the leaders, and the use of parliamentary tactics further complicate the issue. The conflict, viewed in the light of the conditions of the time, seems to have been unavoidable. In the course of time, the lessons of church administration and of true Lutheran positions became unmistakably clear making possible under the providence of God a reunion in the form of the United Lutheran Church in America.

14. Loss of Synods to the General Council

The vote cast by the convention at Fort Wayne meant disruption. A few weeks afterwards, at its 119th annual meeting, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania severed its connection with the General Synod and sent out an invitation to all Lutheran synods to participate in the organization of a new general body. In the following year, 1867, at Fort Wayne,

Indiana, the new organization known as the General Council came into existence. The New York Ministerium, the Pittsburgh Synod, the English Synod of Ohio, the Illinois Synod and the Minnesota Synod also left the General Synod and took part in the new organization.

The losses of the General Synod between 1860 and 1870 were enormous. Counting the withdrawal of the Swedes and of the southern Lutherans, they amounted to two hundred seventeen clergymen and seventy-six thousand one hundred forty-nine communicants. In the year 1860 the General Synod comprised two-thirds of the Lutherans in America; a decade later, only one-fourth. But that it retained its vitality will be shown in the next chapter.

15. Ruptures within Constituent Synods

Some of the synods joining the General Council suffered a disruption. The New York Ministerium lost seventeen ministers and ten congregations, which in turn formed the New York Synod and as such joined the General Synod. A disruption also occurred in the Illinois Synod. At its meeting at Mount Pulaski, Ill., 1867, a minority refused to abide by the decision of the majority, and remained with the General Synod as the Synod of Central Illinois. Eleven ministers left the Pittsburgh Synod, and, retaining the name of the synod, remained with the General Synod. Even congregations were rent asunder. In subsequent litigations, violent and expensive, church properties were variously disposed of, notably in Pittsburgh, Leechburg, Williamsport and Allentown. The General Council faction would generally contend that the General Synod did not recognize without reservation the Augsburg Confession nor the other confessional writings of the Lutheran Church, and that, therefore, the General Synod faction was not Lutheran. But such arguments did not carry in court. The General Synod invariably won the contest wherever confessional issues were at stake. The testimony on both sides, usually given by theologians of eminence, always offered a great display of scholarship and sagacity. Dr. J. A. Brown mostly represented the General Synod and Dr. C. P. Krauth the General Council. But the decision of the court was made on the basis, not of doctrinal testimony, but upon the wording of the congregational charter.

Biographical Notes

Professor Samuel Sprecher, D. D., LL. D., was born at Williamsport, Md., in 1810. He studied under Dr. S. S. Schmucker at Gettysburg, and ministered to the congregations at Harrisburg, Martinsburg and Chambersburg, Pa. From 1849 to 1884 he was president of Wittenberg College. He was a teacher of great ability, having special talent for work of a philosophic and systematic character. *The Groundwork of a System of Evangelical Lutheran Theology*, though written from the viewpoint of the "Definite Synodical Platform," is his most important contribution to Lutheran literature. Later, after years of retirement and physical suffering in San Diego, Calif., he revoked, to a large extent, his former position. In the *Lutheran Evangelist* he says: "It is true that I did once think the Definite Synodical Platform—that modification of Lutheranism which perhaps has been properly called the culmination of Melancthonianism—desirable and practical, and that I now regard all such modification of our creed as hopeless. In the meantime an increased knowledge of the spirit, methods and literature of the Missouri Synod has convinced me that such alterations are undesirable; that the elements of true Pietism—that a sense of the necessity of personal religion and the importance of personal assurance of salvation—can be maintained in connection with a Lutheranism unmodified by the Puritan element." (See *Lutheran Evangelist*, May 1, 1891. Also, *Trial of L. A. Gotwald*, p. 72.) Dr. Sprecher combined with a frail body a very great mind. He died in 1906, having reached the age of ninety-five years.

Prof. J. A. Brown, D. D., was born in Lancaster Co., Pa., in 1821. Descending from the Quakers, as an unbaptized youth, he came to Gettysburg (1841) where he entered the senior class of the college. He was baptized in the Presbyterian Church. His mental gifts were extraordinary. He graduated from college in 1842, and became a teacher. He continued his studies, and served congregations at Baltimore, York and Reading. In 1859 he was called to Newberry College, S. C., as professor of theology. He left there during the Civil War, his sympathies being with the North. In 1864 he became Dr. S. S. Schmucker's successor at Gettysburg. He was an able preacher, an enthusiastic teacher, a discerning writer and a strong public debater. In 1879 he had a paralytic stroke, and died in 1882.

Prof. C. F. Schaeffer, D. D., born 1807 in Germantown, Pa., educated in the University of Pennsylvania (in theology by his father Dr. F. D. Schaeffer and Dr. Demme), became pastor at Carlisle, Pa., Hagerstown, Md., Lancaster, O., Red Hook, N. Y.,

and Easton, Pa. He was Professor of theology in the seminary of the Joint Synod of Ohio in Columbus (1840-46), in Gettysburg, Pa. (1857-64), in Philadelphia (1864-79). He was active as a writer, having translated the treatise on the Book of Acts by Lange, the *Sacred History* of Kurtz and Arndt's *True Christianity*. He was also author of a commentary on Matthew and of important contributions to the *Evangelical Review*. He died in 1898.

Prof. C. W. Schaeffer, D. D., LL. D., born in Hagerstown, Md., in 1813, educated at the University of Pennsylvania and at Gettysburg. He served the congregation of Barren Hill (1834-40), Harrisburg (1840-49) and Germantown, Pa. (1849-64), became professor at the seminary at Philadelphia in 1864 and was for many years president of the synod. He distinguished himself as an author (*Early History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 1857, and many articles in the *Evangelical Review*) and as a leader in the Church. He died in 1898.

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CHAPTER VI

PROGRESS OF THE GENERAL SYNOD

1. Synods Remaining in the General Synod

The Twenty-third Convention of the General Synod was held at Harrisburg, Pa., in 1868. Delegates were present from the following synods: Synod of Maryland, Synod of West Pennsylvania, Hartwick Synod, East Ohio Synod, Alleghany Synod, Synod of East Pennsylvania, Miami Synod, Wittenberg Synod, Olive Branch Synod, Synod of Northern Illinois, Synod of Central Pennsylvania, Synod of Northern Indiana, Synod of Southern Illinois, Synod of Iowa, Melancthon Synod, Synod of New Jersey, Franckean Synod; from three synods which were ruptured minorities of seceded synods: Synod of New York, which took the place of the New York Ministerium; the Synod of Central Illinois, which took the place of the Synod of Illinois; the Pittsburgh Synod, which, though a small minority, claimed to be the original synod; and from the Susquehanna Synod, newly organized and admitted for the first time. The General Synod had lost three whole synods and the major parts of three others in the rupture at Fort Wayne, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania with its more than fifty thousand members being by far the most important. The General Synod now had but half her former strength as represented in communicant members. The number of synods remaining in the General Synod seems large, but they were mostly small synods with but three or four thousand communicant members.

LUTHERAN STRENGTH IN 1868

Body	Pastors	Churches	Communicants
General Synod	610	1,008	87,123
General Council	575	1,101	144,716
Southern General Synod.....	120	214	17,112
All other synods.....	582	997	129,254
Total	1,887	3,320	378,205

(*Evangelical Review*, vol. XX, pp. 122, 123.)

2. The Washington Convention

At the Twenty-fourth Convention of the General Synod, held in Washington, D. C., in 1869, were put into operation certain doctrinal, liturgical and practical matters which had been in course of development for some time. The amendments to the constitution proposed at York in 1864, approved at Harrisburg in 1868 and then submitted to the synods, had the approval of all the synods, and at Washington were declared to be in operation. The amendments revised the ratio of synodical representation at the General Synod, regulated the withdrawal of synodical delegations from conventions of the General Synod, and removed the doctrinal ambiguity of the constitution by a clause naming the "Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of fundamental doctrines." This convention also authorized the publication of a hymn book known as the *Book of Worship* and approved an order of service since designated as the "Washington Service." In matters of organization there were elected a Board of Home Missions, a Board of Foreign Missions, and a Board of Church Extension to take over the work of the Home Missionary Society, the Foreign Missionary Society, and the Church Extension Society respectively.

3. Reorganization of Missionary Forces

The loss to foreign missionary work of the strength and wealth of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was sorely felt. The rupture at Fort Wayne spoiled plans for sending reinforcements to Rev. E. Unangst who was alone at the Guntur station in India. Nothing could be done for the work in Africa. Most of the synods were so weak and hard pressed in their local work that they could not contribute much to missionary work abroad. The board had great difficulty in finding persons willing to become missionaries.

Since the first need of the Board of Foreign Missions was money, renewed and urgent appeals were sent to all the synods and congregations. The response was good, considering the financial depression of the country following the war and the panic of 1873. The loss of income due to the formation of the General Council was more than made up within a few years, new missionaries were sent to Africa and India, and a new interest in Foreign Missions was aroused. The Board of

Foreign Missions became incorporated before the 1873 convention of the General Synod. The 1879 report noted with enthusiasm the organization of Women's Missionary Societies both congregational and synodical.

Readjustment of interests with the General Council offered something of a problem. It was first offered through the Ministerium to relinquish all rights in the India mission in return for funds collected for a proposed mission in China, and the General Synod Board was favorable toward this offer. But by 1870 the Rajahmundry and Samulcotta stations in the India mission had been transferred to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

The General Synod set at once to the strengthening of her Home Mission work. Here again there must be an arousing of interest in the congregations and an increase in the financial support of the work. The general secretary, the Rev. Morris Officer, established contact with the synods and made a general survey of the field. The Home Mission Board which came into being at the Washington convention assumed responsibility for all Home Mission work, adopted rules of procedure and forms for commissions and reports. This thorough organization and centralization of Home Mission activity in an incorporated Board meant much for an intelligent and far-sighted administration of the work. Since the Minnesota Synod had joined the General Council, the missionary work in that synod was transferred from the General Synod to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

4. Doctrinal Development

The General Synod, which had been organized in 1820 without any doctrinal statement in the constitution, and since 1835 had accepted synods holding the fundamental doctrines of the Bible "as taught by our Church," was bound after 1869 by the doctrinal statement in the constitutional admendment proposed at York. The 1829 constitution of district synods required adherence to "the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God . . . taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession." The constitution of 1869 named the "Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine Word," thereby repudiating those who charged it with error.

The result of the rupture which led to the formation of the General Council was by no means a clear cleavage between the confessional and the non-confessional elements. Many men who remained in the General Synod had combated the "Definite Platform" with as much determination as those who left it. For them the difficulty with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania resolved itself chiefly into a question of polity. These men of a confessional tendency constantly increased in numbers and influence, and the relations between them and the men of the opposite party grew more and more strained, reaching a climax in the conflict over the Common Service. The former, the so-called "Conservatives," complained that many men on the other side wrongly interpreted the clause of the constitution which reads: "the Augsburg Confession is a correct exhibition of the *fundamental doctrines* of the divine Word," interpreting it as binding them only on those points of doctrine in which the Augsburg Confession exhibits fundamental truths of the Bible, but not binding them on non-fundamental doctrines. The latter class of persons who, with an unmistakable leaning toward the "Definite Platform," aimed at an "American Lutheranism" severed from its historical past, accused the most influential men on the conservatively Lutheran side of seeking to change the confessional basis of the General Synod and to make, not the Augsburg Confession alone, but all the other confessions of the Book of Concord the doctrinal basis of the General Synod. Therefore, at its convention at Hagerstown, Md., in 1895, the General Synod passed the following resolution as an interpretation of its constitution:

"Whereas, A fear is expressed by some that the basis of the General Synod may be changed by enlargement so as to include other symbolical books beside the Augustana, and

"Whereas, A conviction is held that an effort is in progress to reduce to a lower standard, in thought and spirit, the present form of acceptance of the Augsburg Confession by the General Synod; therefore,

"Resolved, that in order to remove all fear and misapprehension, this Convention of the General Synod hereby expresses its entire satisfaction with the present form of doctrinal basis and confessional subscription, which is the Word of God the infallible

rule of faith and practice, and the unaltered Augsburg Confession as throughout in perfect consistence with it—nothing more, nothing less.”

Here for the first time the *unaltered* Augsburg Confession is mentioned, although no other than this was meant at York in 1864. Then, too, this resolution expressly declares that the Augsburg Confession is throughout in perfect consistence with God’s Word.

However, the friction continued. Dr. J. G. Butler, editor of “*The Lutheran Evangelist*,” and men of similar view-point, persistently declared that the General Synod had purposely demanded nothing but fidelity to the fundamentals of the Augsburg Confession. The Conservatives objected to this, because it left every one to decide for himself what is fundamental. On this question the convention of the General Synod at Des Moines, Ia., in 1901 adopted the following resolution:

“Resolved, That in these days of doctrinal unrest in many quarters, we rejoice to find ourselves unshaken in our spiritual and historic faith, and, therefore, we re-affirm our unreserved allegiance to the present basis of the General Synod, and we hold that to make any distinction between fundamental and so-called non-fundamental doctrines in the Augsburg Confession is contrary to that basis as set forth in our formula of confessional subscription.”

These resolutions of Hagerstown and Des Moines were simply convention resolutions and did not have the weight of constitutional authority since they were not amendments to the constitution and were not submitted to the synods for vote. But they are significant interpretations of the doctrinal basis of the constitution.

A convention of the General Council was held at Buffalo, N. Y., in 1907 at which the question of the exchange of delegates with the General Synod was discussed. Objections were raised on the ground that the General Synod was still standing on an ambiguous confessional basis. Dr. H. E. Jacobs was selected as the Official Visitor of the General Council and instructed to present to the General Synod a series of statements entitled “Theses on the Relation of the General Council to the General Synod” which specified the ambiguities in the doctrinal basis of the General Synod. In response, the General

Synod's visitor at the Buffalo convention of the General Council, Dr. L. S. Keyser, with the assistance of the faculty of Wittenberg Seminary, carefully worked out a series of "Statements Relative to the General Synod's Doctrinal Basis" and presented them at the convention of the General Synod at Richmond, Ind., in 1909. The whole document, embodying certain resolutions, was adopted. It reiterated in a vigorous way the declarations of Hagerstown and Des Moines, reaffirmed adherence to the *unaltered* Augsburg Confession, emphasized the value of the other symbolical books, and declared adherence to the statement: "The Bible *is* the Word of God." This was remarkable progress in doctrinal development since 1866 when even the most conservative would have hesitated to accept such a position.

At this same convention was adopted a resolution presented by the Rev. J. A. Clutz, D. D., of Gettysburg, authorizing the Common Service Committee to codify the various doctrinal resolutions of the General Synod so that they might be incorporated in the constitution. A constitutional amendment concerning the doctrinal basis was proposed at the 1911 convention in Washington, D. C., and was referred to the district synods. Two years later, at the convention at Atchison, Kan., in 1913, the secretary of the General Synod, Dr. F. P. Manhart, reported that all the District Synods had approved the amendments, thus making them part of the constitution. The revised articles are:

"ARTICLE II. Doctrinal Basis

"With the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Fathers, the General Synod receives and holds the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God and the only infallible rule of faith and practice; and it receives and holds the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the faith and doctrine of our Church as founded upon the Word.

"ARTICLE III. The Secondary Symbols

"While the General Synod regards the Augsburg Confession as a sufficient and altogether adequate doctrinal basis for the coöperation of Lutheran Synods, it also recognizes the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalkald Articles, the Small Catechism of Luther, the Large Catechism of Luther, and the Formula of Concord as expositions of Lutheran doctrine of great

historical and interpretive value, and especially commends the Small Catechism as a book of instruction."

This was a splendid forward movement in regard to doctrinal precision. The naming of the "Unaltered" Augsburg Confession meant an open protest against Melancthonism and the theology of the "Definite Platform" known as "American Lutheranism." The omission of the old phrase "fundamental," which had wrought such havoc in the General Synod, cleared the confessional atmosphere. Having reached this confessional position, the General Synod was now ready for merger and the formation of the United Lutheran Church.

5. Development in Liturgical Practice

The lack of an officially authorized order of service was a source of great distress in the General Synod at the beginning of this period. Though there had been considerable development in liturgical scholarship and appreciation, the liturgies proposed were not responsive in character, but were simply orders for the minister to read. Of such a nature was the one proposed in 1868 by the committee of which Dr. S. S. Schmucker was chairman. Their report was laid on the table. In 1868 a new committee was appointed to prepare "a form of worship for Sabbath morning service, and for the Lord's Supper and Baptism." The report of this committee, presented and adopted at the Washington convention in 1869, was the "Order of Public Worship," commonly known as the "Washington Service." This service included the singing of the *Gloria Patri*, the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria in Excelsis*. It represented a marked advance in liturgical taste. The General Synod authorized the publication of a hymn book containing these orders for morning and evening service. This was the *Book of Worship* which appeared in 1870.

The first evidence of coöperation between the general bodies in liturgical matters was the invitation of the General Synod South in 1878 to the General Synod and the General Council to coöperate in preparing a "common service for all English-speaking Lutherans." In 1879 the General Synod directed that the Committee to Prepare a Liturgy and the Committee to Prepare a Hymn and Tune Book should confer with the General Synod South in the matter of preparing publications suitable to both bodies. In 1881 the General

Synod appointed a committee to ascertain the basis of co-operation in preparing a *Common Service Book*.

The growth of liturgical taste and consciousness is reflected by an incident at the 1883 convention of the General Synod. A petition signed by fifty-five delegates was presented asking for the preparation of a new order of service more consistent with Lutheran liturgies and doctrine. This same convention adopted resolutions authorizing coöperation with the General Synod South and the General Council in preparing a "Common Service for all English-speaking Lutherans" on the basis of the "pure Lutheran liturgies of the 16th century." The result of the work of the Joint Committee of the three general bodies was the "Common Service" which was presented to the General Synod in 1885 and approved. This "Common Service," far superior to anything which preceded it in the General Synod, represents a high degree of liturgical scholarship and taste. Its adoption by the three coöperating general bodies constituted a bond of union between them.

By the year 1885 the *Book of Worship with Tunes* had become the standard hymnal in the General Synod. The Omaha convention of 1887 authorized the printing of the "Common Service" in addition to the "Order of Public Worship" in the *Book of Worship*. But there was opposition to this liturgical development at all times. This opposition reached its high-water mark in 1891 in a proposal to omit the "Common Service" from the *Book of Worship*. This proposal, which had the support of the president of the General Synod, was defeated by a vote of 107 to 80. An abridged form of the "Common Service" authorized in 1895 seems never to have come into much favor or use. But the growing favor and use of the "Common Service" is evidenced by the resolution of the 1899 convention authorizing the omission of the "Washington Service" from the German hymn book.

After the "Common Service," the next step was a Common Hymn Book. The General Synod in 1897 thought the project desirable and approved coöperation in the matter. After many years of careful study and work the *Common Service Book* was issued in 1915 and approved by the General Synod. The report of the Common Service Committee in 1917, which records the approval of their work by all three general bodies, includes these significant words: "The *Book*

of *Worship* of the General Synod, which will, no doubt, gradually, and let us hope very soon, be superseded by the new *Common Service Book* . . ." This is significant evidence of the development of a liturgical Lutheran consciousness of a high degree.

This development in orders of service is matched by a similar development in forms for other liturgical services and ministerial acts. In former days it was necessary to have optional and alternate orders for Baptism and other services. The orders agreed upon and in force in 1918 represent not only good liturgical taste but also consistent Lutheran practice. The observance of the Church Year and the use of the appropriate Gospels and Epistles became popular. Equally significant is the fact that this development in liturgical matters influenced the form of church architecture of General Synod churches resulting in structures of true ecclesiastical design.

6. Foreign Mission Work

In 1868 the General Synod had two missionaries in India, but the station in Africa was vacant. That year the Foreign Missionary Society reported expenditure of \$15,509 during the preceding two years. Its property was valued at \$10,000. The station in India had 633 baptized members. The work developed rapidly under the Board of Foreign Missions which was authorized in 1869 to take over the work of the Society. Women missionaries were authorized in 1871, but it was not until 1880, the year following the organization of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society, that the first woman missionary, Miss Kate M. Boggs, was sent out. And she was sent by the Women's Society. The activity of a Gettysburg Seminary student, A. D. Rowe, in the Sunday Schools resulted in the organization of a Children's Missionary Society and his becoming their first missionary to India. The name of David A. Day will endure as a missionary hero for his magnificent work over a period of twenty years in the deadly climate of Liberia, Africa. Medical work was begun and developed in India by Anna S. Kugler, M. D., who went there in 1883. India and Africa remained the only mission stations of the General Synod until 1915 when work was authorized in British Guiana.

In 1918 the Board of Foreign Missions had assets of nearly a million dollars. There were 43 missionaries in India, 17 in Africa and 2 in South America. The India mission reported 57,773 baptized members. The expenditures of this General Synod Board in the last eighteen months of its existence exceeded \$338,000. Missionary activity included evangelistic, educational, medical and industrial work in the various stations. The Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society reported contributions in excess of \$100,000 in the biennium preceding 1918. This is a very remarkable growth in missionary effort in a half century.

7. Home Mission Achievements

The Home Mission work of the General Synod fell into two divisions: "Home Missions" proper and "Church Extension." By "Home Mission Work" the General Synod understood the providing of a pastor for young and weak congregations, and the payment of his salary in whole or in part from the Home Mission treasury. "Church Extension" had to do chiefly with the church property of young and poor congregations. From the Church Extension treasury amounts were donated or loaned without interest to a needy congregation for the erection of a church building.

The Home Missionary Society in 1866 reported 21 missionaries, of whom nine were in Minnesota, and the Church Extension Fund amounted to \$12,200. The Board of Home Missions, elected in 1869 to succeed the Society, in 1871 reported 50 missions of which 36 were English, 4 Swedish, 3 German, and 7 German-English. Articles of comity with other Lutheran general bodies were adopted in 1895 to avoid friction in the work. Beginning in 1881 the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society aided in the work.

The Home Mission work of the General Synod constitutes one of her outstanding achievements. In 1915 was authorized the consolidation of the Board of Home Missions and the Board of Church Extension into the Board of Home Missions and Church Extension. This board in 1918 had 240 missions on its roll. It reported receipts during the final eighteen months preceding the merger into the United Lutheran Church of nearly \$400,000. The Women's Home and Foreign Missionary

Society at that time was supporting thirty-five of the missions. In the period 1869-1918 upwards of eight hundred missions had been supported by the Board of Home Missions. The General Secretaries of the Board of Home Missions were: Rev. Morris Officer 1869-1871, Rev. J. W. Goodlin, D. D., 1871-1883, Rev. Jacob A. Clutz, D. D., 1883-1889, Rev. A. Stewart Hartman, D. D., 1889-1915; of the Board of Church Extension: Rev. Morris Officer, 1869-1871, Rev. J. W. Goodlin, D. D., 1871-1881, E. C. Bender, Esq., 1881-1883, Rev. J. W. Richard, 1883-1885, Rev. J. C. Zimmerman, 1885-1889, Rev. H. H. Weber, D. D., 1889-1915. The Field Secretary of the Board of Church Extension from 1895 to 1915 was Rev. H. L. Yarger, D. D. After the consolidation in 1915 Dr. Weber was General Secretary, Dr. Hartman Assistant Secretary, and Dr. Yarger General Superintendent.

8. Education

Of the Theological Seminaries of the General Synod, Hartwick Seminary in the state of New York was the oldest. The largest seminary of the General Synod was located at Gettysburg. It was noteworthy for its splendid library and valuable grounds. The Theological Seminary of Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, became known as Hamma Divinity School in recognition of a large bequest by the Rev. M. W. Hamma, D. D., LL. D., in 1906. Missionary Institute at Selinsgrove, Pa., having increased her classical department, endowments and faculty, became a standard college with a theological department in 1895 under the name Susquehanna University. The "Western Theological Seminary" was founded in 1893 and opened in the rooms of Midland College, Atchison, Kan. Dr. F. D. Altman became the first president in 1895. This institution was relocated at Fremont, Nebr., in 1919. The German Theological Seminary, founded in Chicago by Dr. J. D. Severinghaus and conducted by him for thirteen years, was discontinued in 1898 and became a German department of the Western Theological Seminary, with Rev. J. L. Neve as first professor. The youngest seminary in the General Synod was the Martin Luther (Osterloh) Seminary of the German Nebraska Synod, founded in 1913 by that synod at Lincoln, Nebr., in response to the conviction that the territory was in need of a theological school prepared to train men for

the ministry in special sympathy with the German Lutheran spirit. Beginning with about 1909, when Dr. Neve was called as professor to Hamma Divinity School, all seminaries of the General Synod received students from the seminary at Breklum, Germany, which had now come under the special control of the General Synod. Before this arrangement, all these Breklum students had been coming exclusively first to the German Seminary in Chicago and later to the German Department of the Western Seminary.

Conditions in 1868 were somewhat chaotic as far as institutions of classical education were concerned. There were a considerable number of institutions for either men or women owned and patronized by Lutherans but not under church control. In 1918 the General Synod had six colleges: Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, Pa.; Wittenberg College at Springfield, Ohio; Susquehanna University at Selinsgrove, Pa.; Hartwick Seminary, Otsego County, N. Y., which in part gave education in the classics; Carthage College at Carthage, Ill.; and Midland College at Atchison, Kan. (now at Fremont, Nebr.)

In order to assist its younger and weaker educational institutions, the General Synod in 1885 organized a Board of Education. From benevolent contributions raised on the so-called apportionment plan, this Board assisted in the payment of debts incurred by its institutions or of deficiencies of salary for the professors.

The Parent Education Society, founded in 1835, had for its object the giving of financial aid to such students for the ministry as were in need of help. The society derived income from benevolent contributions and interest-bearing investments. In later years the support of beneficiary students of theology was taken over by the individual synods and their Beneficiary Committees.

9. Institutions of Mercy

The General Synod fell considerably behind the other Lutheran bodies in Inner Mission work. It was not until 1911 that the General Synod had an Inner Mission Committee. Four years later the committee was superseded by an Inner Mission Board. The following institutions, with their dates of founding, were owned and supported by the General Synod: Tabitha Orphans' Home and Home for the Aged, Lincoln,

Nebr., 1888; National Lutheran Home for the Aged, Washington, D. C., 1890; Feghtly Home for the Aged, Tippecanoe City, Ohio, 1906. District Synods of the General Synod owned or controlled four orphanages: Emaus Orphans' Home, Middletown, Pa., 1806; Tressler Orphans' Home, Loysville, Pa., 1868; Oesterlen Orphans' Home, Springfield, Ohio, 1903; Nachusa Orphans' Home, Nachusa, Ill., 1904. The General Synod also had a Deaconess Motherhouse at Baltimore, Md. A "Pastors' Fund Society" made provision for the support of superannuated ministers and widows of ministers.

10. The Germans of the General Synod

The use of English predominated in the General Synod to a much greater degree than in any other of the Lutheran bodies. Yet the General Synod had a constant interest in the welfare of German-speaking congregations and immigrants. As early as 1869 was begun the publication of a German paper called *Der Lutherischer Kirchenfreund* with Rev. J. D. Severinghaus as editor. Later it was merged with the *Lutherischer Zionsbote* which in 1897 became the official paper of the German synods. Rev. J. L. Neve was the first editor of the paper as an official organ. When he became professor at Atchison, Kan., the following year, the editorship was transferred to Dr. W. Rosenstengel who continued in this work almost up to the organization of the United Lutheran Church. Soon after the merger, the *Lutherischer Zionsbote* was merged with *Der Lutheraner* of the General Council into the *Lutherischer Herold*.

For a time there was no one officially responsible for work among the Germans, the work devolving upon the two German districts, namely the Wartburg and the German Nebraska Synods. In 1896 a German Traveling Secretary of the Board of Home Missions was appointed, the Rev. Emil Bockelmann being the first to hold that position. Such secretaryship, supported by the Board of Home Missions in coöperation with the Wartburg and German Nebraska Synods, continued until the reorganization of the Boards in 1913, when, with the aid of the Board of Home Missions, the German synods had their own Superintendents of Missions.

The German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland was the first German synod to be admitted to the General

Synod in this period. But it withdrew two years later. The Central Conference of the Illinois Synod became the Wartburg Synod and was admitted to the General Synod in 1877, and in 1891 the German Nebraska Synod was admitted.

The source of supply of German pastors was a difficult problem since none of the General Synod seminaries gave instruction in German. The first to attempt the founding of a German seminary was Rev. J. D. Severinghaus. He made a beginning in Chicago, but failed because of opposition in the Wartburg Synod. In 1882 he was followed in the same effort by Prof. E. F. Giese of the Greek Department in Carthage College, who removed to Chicago. But he also failed because of financial difficulties. In 1885 Rev. Severinghaus, aided by the *Lutherischer Kirchenfreund* which he published, took up the work again. The Seminary thus founded continued until 1898 when the work was transferred to Atchison, Kan., and became a German Department in the Western Theological Seminary. As early as 1885 Dr. Severinghaus established contact with Pastor Christian Jensen in Breklum, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, and in the course of the years secured many young men for work among the Germans in the General Synod. It was this influx of candidates from Germany that rejuvenated the Wartburg Synod and also contributed materially to the strength of the growing German Nebraska Synod. In 1907 the General Synod established an official relationship with the Breklum Institute, appointing members to the Board of Directors and voting financial support.

Since the German work rested largely upon the Wartburg and German Nebraska Synods, they published, with the sanction of the General Synod, catechisms, hymn books, the orders of service and other needed material in German.

11. Church Papers and Publications

The Lutheran Observer for many years continued to be the popular, though unofficial, paper of the General Synod. In 1907 the General Synod authorized the publishing of an official magazine to be known as *The Lutheran Church Work*. *The Lutheran World*, the conservative organ within the General Synod, merged with *The Lutheran Church Work* in 1912, which in turn merged with *The Lutheran Observer* in 1915

to form *The Lutheran Church Work and Observer*, an official magazine.

The literary needs of the General Synod were supplied by a Publication Society and later by a Board of Publication which issued books, pamphlets, Sunday School supplies and other literature. For outstanding publications we refer to what is mentioned in Biographical Notes.

12. Relations with Other Lutheran Bodies

Fraternal relations were established first with the Southern General Synod in 1879 by an exchange of official visitors. It was not until 1895 that such relationship was established with the General Council. For a time official correspondence was carried on also with the United Norwegian Synod and the Danish Lutheran Association. For many years there functioned a Committee on Foreign Correspondence through which was exchanged news between the General Synod and the Lutheran bodies of Europe. Such Foreign Correspondence resulted in the sending of young men from Germany to pastorates in America, and in the establishment of definite relations with the Breklum Institute.

General Synod interest in Lutheran coöperation functioned through various committees, notably the Committee on Practical Coöperation with Other Lutheran Bodies. The General Synod coöperated with the General Council and the United Synod in the South in many things and in a few with the Joint Synod of Ohio and the Iowa Synod. United effort was first attained in the preparation of the "Common Service" and later of a common hymn book. The Southern General Synod joined with their northern brethren in mission work in India until the organization of the United Synod in the South and its distinctive Foreign Mission work. With the General Council the General Synod formulated agreements aimed to avoid friction in Foreign Mission Work, Home Mission Fields and Church Papers. The basis of coöperation was agreed to also by the United Synod in the South. Such agreements prevented competition in Home Mission work, the setting up of altar against altar.

The three bodies sent representatives to three Free Conferences of Lutherans held 1898, 1902, 1904, where a mutual

understanding was cultivated. Coöperation between the various agencies of the three general bodies developed. The deaconess motherhouses agreed upon methods of procedure and all sent delegates to the General Conference, meeting at Kaiserswerth. Most friendly relations existed between the missionaries of the different bodies on the foreign field. The boards or societies of publication joined in preparing Sunday School literature. Intersynodical Lutheran Conferences on Education, in which the Joint Ohio and Iowa Synods joined, were held to discuss common problems. The Lutheran Brotherhood became an intersynodical organization of laymen, as did also the Luther League. Especially noteworthy is the coöperation in the time of the World War in the National Lutheran Commission for Soldiers' and Sailors' Welfare, the National Lutheran Council, and Lutheran World Service. The General Synod joined in a united celebration of the 400th Anniversary of the Reformation by appointing members to the Joint Quadricentennial Committee. This committee was of the opinion that the best celebration would be a union of Lutheran bodies. Accordingly they formulated a plan of merger and a constitution in 1917 which was accepted by the General Synod, the General Council and the United Synod in the South. These three bodies, therefore, merged in 1918 to form the United Lutheran Church in America.

13. Constituent Synods in 1918

The following synods, with the dates of their organization composed the General Synod in 1918: Maryland Synod, 1820; West Pennsylvania Synod, 1825; East Ohio Synod, 1836; Alleghany Synod, 1842; East Pennsylvania Synod, 1842; Miami Synod, 1844; Pittsburgh Synod, 1845; Wittenberg Synod, 1847; Olive Branch Synod, 1848; Northern Illinois Synod, 1851; Central Pennsylvania Synod, 1855; Iowa Synod, 1855; Northern Indiana Synod, 1855; Central Illinois Synod, 1867; Susquehanna Synod, 1867; Kansas Synod, 1868; Nebraska Synod, 1873; Wartburg Synod, 1876; California Synod, 1891; German Nebraska Synod, 1891; Rocky Mountain Synod, 1891; Southern Illinois Synod, 1901; New York Synod, 1908; West Virginia Synod, 1912. This was a total of twenty-four synods.

Biographical Notes

Pastor J. G. Morris, D. D., LL. D., was born in York, Pa., in 1808 and died in 1895. He received his preparatory education at Princeton, studied theology under S. S. Schmucker (before Schmucker was called to Gettysburg), afterwards at Nazareth (Moravian), Princeton and Gettysburg. For thirty-three years he served the First Lutheran Church of Baltimore. He was the founder of the *Lutheran Observer*, a prolific writer and repeatedly president of the General Synod, in whose development he took a prominent part. His best known literary products are *Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry* and *Life Reminiscences of an old Lutheran Minister*. In the latter volume we find a list of his many writings.

Pastor F. W. Conrad, D. D., (1816-1898) studied theology at Gettysburg and was ordained in 1840. In 1855 he became professor of Modern Languages and Homiletics at Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. He served several pastorates, being at that time a zealous revivalist. In 1863 he became editor in chief of the *Lutheran Observer*, continuing in that capacity until his death. He took part in all the greater movements of the General Synod and was a contributor to the *Evangelical Review* and the *Lutheran Quarterly*. His catechism had a large circulation. Noteworthy also is his *Lutheran Manual and Guide*.

Prof. L. A. Gotwald, D. D., son of Pastor D. Gotwald, was born January 31, 1833, in York Springs, Pa. He attended Wittenberg College and Gettysburg College and the Gettysburg Seminary. From 1859 to 1888 he served various parishes until called to the chair of Practical Theology in Wittenberg Seminary. Here he was active until disabled by a paralytic stroke in 1895. He lived five years longer. His trial before the directors of Wittenberg College (1893) on the charge of having departed from the doctrinal basis of the General Synod resulted in his complete exoneration, and greatly helped to establish conservative Lutheranism more firmly at Wittenberg College and in the synods connected therewith. A result of this experience was his book *Trial of L. A. Gotwald*. He was a contributor to church periodicals and published two volumes of sermons: *Sermons for Festival Days* and *Joy in the Divine Government*.

Prof. E. J. Wolf, D. D., LL. D., born in Center County, Pa., studied at Gettysburg College and Seminary and continued his studies in Tuebingen and Erlangen. After a pastorate in Baltimore he was called to the chair of Church History and New Testament Exegesis at Gettysburg (1873). This was done at the suggestion of Dr. Brown, who recognized his extraordinary talents.

He held this position until his death. Being an earnest student of the doctrinal literature of the Lutheran Church, he helped to establish sound doctrinal foundations for the General Synod after the disruption at Fort Wayne. His trumpet sounded a clear note at all conventions of the General Synod, and his literary contributions were marked by strong convictions. He published *The Lutherans in America* and translated three volumes of Nebe's *Sermons on the Pericopes* into a condensed English edition. He died January 10, 1905.

Prof. J. W. Richard, D. D., LL. D., was born February 14, 1, 1825, at Uniontown, Md. Educated at Gettysburg, he served pastorates until 1866 when he was called to the chair of Church History and New Testament Exegesis at Gettysburg. Later he was made president of Pennsylvania College and held this position for sixteen years. Here he distinguished himself by his thoroughness as a teacher in philosophy. He was an author of works of philosophy and ethics, publishing *Theoretical Ethics*, *Natural Theology* and *Christian Faith and Life*. He became professor of Systematic Theology in the seminary in 1884. He had a leaning toward a Melancthonian type of Lutheranism with a critical attitude toward the Formula of Concord. He vigorously protested against the doctrinal course of the General Council. His conception of "What the General Synod has to stand for" was ably set forth in his contribution to the little volume on *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages*. His *Christian Theology* published in two volumes immediately after his death, shows us a theologian highly endowed as a philosophic thinker, who has put upon a work of Dogmatics the stamp of his own individuality.

Prof. J. W. Richards, D. D., LL. D., was born February 14, 1843, near Winchester, Va., received his preparatory education at Roanoke College, entered Pennsylvania College in 1865 and graduated from the theological seminary at Gettysburg in 1871. He became professor at Carthage College in 1873 and secretary of the Board of Church Extension in 1883. In 1885 he was called as professor of theology to Wittenberg Seminary. Four years later he accepted a chair at Gettysburg where he remained until his death, March 7, 1909. He was especially interested in historical researches and centered his attention upon the confessional questions of the Lutheran Church. He wrote a biography of Melancthon. From 1898 until his death he was editor of the *Lutheran Quarterly* to which he made many contributions. In its issue of Oct., 1909, was given a list of his writings. He leaned toward Melancthonianism and, in opposition to the tendencies of the General Council, he aimed to crystallize into a permanent platform the unsettled confessional condition of the General Synod between

1864 and 1908. See in this connection his "Confessional History of the General Synod" (*Lutheran Quarterly*, Oct. 1895), "Melancthon and the Augsburg Confession." (Articles in the *Lutheran Quarterly*, Oct. 1899, also January, July and October 1900). His articles concerning the Augsburg Confession, together with other doctrinal contributions, are found in his most noteworthy book on *The Confessional History of the Lutheran Church* (1909).

Prof. J. D. Severinghaus, D. D., born July 22, 1834, near Severinghausen, Hannover, Germany, emigrated when sixteen years old and came to Cincinnati, O. He entered Wittenberg College and graduated from the theological seminary in 1861. He served congregations until 1873 when he went to Chicago and engaged in extensive labors for the Church for a quarter of a century. In 1869 he founded the *Lutherischer Kirchenfreund*. Around the *Kirchenfreund* he gathered the Germans of the General Synod. Through his German work he became known far and wide. He also entered into negotiations with Pastor Jensen of Breklum (1878) so that students from Breklum entered the field of the Wartburg and German Nebraska Synods. In 1883 he founded a seminary in Chicago which he conducted under great difficulties for thirteen years. Dr. Severinghaus did much valuable work for the Germans of the General Synod. Two of his books deserve mentioning: *Denkschrift der General-Synode*, 1875; and *Das Formelbuch fuer die Deutschen der General-Synode*, 1870, 1881, 1894. In Chicago he was pastor of Trinity Church (later connected with the Iowa Synod) and afterwards of St. Mark's. But his real work was outside of the pastorate. He died Oct. 14, 1905, at the age of 71.

Prof. S. A. Ort, D. D., LL. D., born in Lewistown, Pa., in 1843, was educated at Wittenberg College, from which he graduated with highest honors. He finished his theological studies at Wittenberg Seminary in 1863. Almost his entire work (until 1911) was done in Wittenberg College, where he was first teacher of Mathematics in the College and afterwards professor of Philosophy and Systematic Theology in the Seminary. From 1882 to 1900 he was president of this school. He was a man of fine mentality, keen perception and an orator of note. To his students he was an inspiring teacher. He took part in the larger work of the Church, although he never wrote extensively. However, his theology was conservatively Lutheran, as may be noted in the volume of *Selected Sermons and Addresses* published after his death.

Pastor M. W. Hamma, D. D., LL. D., born in Richland County, Ohio, in 1836, graduated from Wittenberg College and Seminary. He served the congregations at Euphemia, O., Bucyrus, O., Reading, Pa., Springfield, O., and Altoona, Pa. He was an

eminent preacher and influential in the councils of the Church. Being a man of means he donated \$200,000 to the Wittenberg Seminary, since called Hamma Divinity School in recognition of his gift. Through his many travels he acquired a many-sided education. He died in Springfield, O., in 1913.

Prof. D. H. Bauslin, D. D., born in Winchester, Va., January 21, 1854, studied in Wittenberg College and Seminary and entered the ministry in 1878. He served congregations in Ohio until 1895 when he became professor of Practical Theology and Church History at Wittenberg Seminary, succeeding Dr. L. A. Gotwald. In 1901 he became editor of *The Lutheran World* and continued in this work until 1912 when this conservative organ of the General Synod was merged into *Lutheran Church Work* (official organ of the General Synod). He wrote valuable articles, mostly published in the *Lutheran Quarterly*. His chief publication was *The Lutheran Movement of the Sixteenth Century* (1918). He died in 1922, being at the time dean of Hamma Divinity School. He was an acknowledged leader in the practical affairs and in the progress toward conservatism in the General Synod.

Rev. Geo. U. Wenner, D. D., born at Bethlehem, Pa., May 17, 1844, studied at Yale, Gettysburg, and graduated from Union Theological Seminary 1868. From that time on he has been pastor of Christ Church in New York. For many years he served as chairman of the liturgical committee of the General Synod, and has done valuable work in the preparation of the "Common Service" and the "Ministerial Acts." He has been a frequent contributor to the church papers (especially the *Lutheran Quarterly*) on liturgical subjects. He wrote a book, *Religious Education and the Public School* (1907) in which he proposed that Wednesdays should be given for religious instruction. His book, *The Lutherans in New York*, appeared in 1918.

Prof. John A. Singmaster, D. D., LL. D., president of the General Synod 1915-1917, was born in Macungie, Lehigh County, Pa., Aug. 31, 1852, and graduated from college and seminary at Gettysburg. After twenty-four years in pastorates, he became Professor of Systematic Theology, and in 1906 (after the retirement of Dr. Valentine) president of the Gettysburg Seminary. He was editor-in-chief of the *Lutheran Quarterly*; also author of the article on the General Synod in the fourth edition of *Distinctive Doctrines and Usages of the General Bodies of the Ev. Luth. Church in the United States*. As president of the General Synod, he was prominent in the work of merger and organization of the United Lutheran Church. He also published a book on Dogmatics. He died Feb. 27, 1926.

Prof. Franklin P. Manhart, D. D., LL. D., born August 30, 1852, educated in Missionary Institute, Selinsgrove, Pa., and Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa. After pastorates in Bloomsburg and Philadelphia, Pa., he was president of Susquehanna University 1893-1895. After serving as head of the Deaconess Motherhouse at Baltimore 1896-1904, he became dean of the theological department at Susquehanna University, 1904-1933. He was secretary of the General Synod from 1909 to 1922. He was an authority on Lutheran history in America and was president of the Lutheran Historical Society from 1911-1933. He was the author of *Present-Day Lutheranism* and *Episcopacy and the Lutheran Church*. He died September 13, 1933.

Prof. V. G. A. Tressler, Ph. D., D. D., born at Somerfield, Pa., April 10, 1865, graduated from Gettysburg College, for a year studied law in Chicago and theology at McCormick Theological Seminary. He did graduate work at the University of Leipzig where he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and studied also at the University of Berlin and the University of Paris. After a brief pastorate at San Jose, Calif., he became dean and professor of Philosophy at Ansgar College, Hutchinson, Minn., a year later professor of Greek in Wittenberg College, and from 1905-1923 professor of New Testament Philology and Criticism in Hamma Divinity School, of which he was dean, 1922-1923. He was president of the General Synod at the time of the merger, and was a member of the Ways and Means Committee for its accomplishment. He was a member of the Executive Committee of the United Lutheran Church from 1918 until his death in 1923. He helped to create within the General Synod the basis for the realization of the United Lutheran Church in America. He died September 1, 1923.

Prof. Holmes Dysinger, D. D., LL. D., born March 26, 1853, educated at Gettysburg College and Seminary and did post-graduate work at Chicago and Leipzig. From 1883 to 1888 he was professor at Newberry College, and from 1888 to 1895 president of Carthage College. After ten years in pastorates he returned to the educational field, being since 1905 professor and 1910-1931 dean at Western Theological Seminary, Fremont, Nebr. In the United Lutheran Church he has been a member of the Commission of Adjudication. His work as a teacher in the schools of the Church has been outstanding.

Prof. J. A. Clutz, D. D., LL. D., born January 5, 1848, educated at Gettysburg College and Seminary, ordained 1872. He was pastor at Newville, Pa., and Baltimore, Md.; from 1883 to 1889 General Secretary of the General Synod Board of Home Missions. He was president of Midland College, Atchison, Kans.,

1889 to 1904, and during the last ten years of that period also Professor of Homiletics and Christian Ethics in the Western Seminary. After serving as pastor of St. James Church, Gettysburg, from 1904 to 1909, he became a professor of Practical Theology in the Gettysburg Seminary, continuing in that position until his death. He was president of the General Synod in 1891, a member of the General Synod's Committee of Ways and Means for the merger, and a member of the Executive Board of the United Lutheran Church 1918-1920. While attending the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm, Sweden, he died Sept. 7, 1925, as the result of an accident.

Prof. L. S. Keyser, D. D., born March 13, 1856, in Tuscarawas County, Ohio, graduated from Ohio Northern University and Wittenberg Seminary; editor of the *Lutheran Evangelist*, 1895-1897; pastor of Midland College Church, Atchison, Kans., 1897-1903, and at Dover, Ohio, 1903-11. Professor of Systematic Theology at Hamma Divinity School, Wittenberg College, 1911-1932, since then Professor Emeritus. Though author of a number of works on ornithology, his special interest was in theology. His theological writings are *The Only Way Out*, 1906; *The Rational Test*, 1908; *A System of Christian Ethics*, 1913; *A System of Natural Theism*, 2nd ed. 1922; *A System of General Ethics*, 3rd ed. 1926; *In the Redeemer's Footsteps*, 2 vol. 1919; *In the Apostles' Footsteps*, 2 vol. 1920; *Contending for the Faith*, 1921; *A System of Christian Evidence*, 1922, 5th ed. 1930; *Man's First Disobedience*, 1924; *The Doctrines of Modernism*, 1925; *The Problem of Origins*, 1926; *The Conflict of Fundamentalism and Modernism*, 1926; *A Manual of Christian Faith*, 1926; *A Handbook of Christian Psychology*, 1928; *The Philosophy of Christianity*, 1928.

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CHAPTER VII

THE UNITED SYNOD IN THE SOUTH*

1. The Southern Synods

In the year 1861 there were eight Lutheran Synods in the South. The North Carolina Synod was organized in 1803. From this synod the Tennessee Synod went out in 1820, because the members of the latter were of a positive Lutheran tendency, and disapproved of the purpose of the North Carolina Synod to take part in the organization of the General Synod. The South Carolina Synod was formed in 1824, and united with the General Synod in 1835. The Virginia Synod was organized in 1829, uniting with the General Synod ten years later. From its midst came such men as Drs. S. S. Schmucker, J. G. Morris, and Charles Porterfield Krauth. Following a preliminary meeting in September, 1841, the Southwest Virginia Synod was organized in May, 1842, and united with the General Synod the same month. The Mississippi Synod was organized in 1855. The Synod of Georgia, embracing the states of Georgia and Florida, came into existence in 1860. The Holston Synod (so called after the Holston River in Tennessee), an offshoot of the Tennessee Synod, was organized at a convention meeting December 29, 1860 to January 2, 1861, formal action effecting the organization and accepting the constitution being taken on the last day of the convention.

2. The Effect of the Civil War

When in 1861 the Southern States seceded and the Civil War with its horrors began, the General Synod passed a series of resolutions presented by Dr. Passavant, chairman of the Committee on the State of the Country, among which was the following: "Resolved, That it is the deliberate judgment of this Synod, that the rebellion against the constitutional Government of this land is most wicked in its inception, unjustifiable in its cause, unnatural in its character, inhuman in its prosecution, oppressive in its aims, and destructive in its results to the highest interests of morality and religion." To

* See Foreword for acknowledgment.

these vigorously worded resolutions of the committee were added other resolutions, one of which read: "Resolved, That this Synod cannot but express its most decided disapprobation of the course of those Synods and ministers, heretofore connected with this body, in the open sympathy and active coöperation, which they have given to the cause of treason and insurrection."

The war made it impossible for delegates from Southern synods to come to General Synod conventions in the North. They believed that the political separation between the South and the North would be permanent. They therefore felt driven to ecclesiastical separation also. In fact, unity could not be preserved in the midst of the hatred engendered by the war and matured by the destruction of the property of members and congregations in the South.

3. Organization of the General Synod South

At the suggestion of the North Carolina Synod, a convention of all Southern synods, who were unable to send delegates through the army lines to the 1862 convention of the General Synod, was called to endorse the General Synod proceedings. The meeting was held at Salisbury, N. C., May 15th, 1862, and was attended by representatives of only three synods, one of whom had but a partial representation. This meeting recognized the necessity of an organization of Southern synods and therefore made tentative plans to that end. Accordingly the "First Convention of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Confederate States of America" was held at Concord, N. C., May 20-26, 1863. The constitution was signed by the delegates of five synods: the Synod of North Carolina, the Synod of South Carolina and Adjacent States, the Synod of Virginia, the Synod of Southwestern Virginia, and the Georgia Synod.

When this body met for its third convention in June, 1866, the war was over and the Union of the States restored. It was a question now whether the two General Synods should unite again. But since at this time the General Synod of the North was distracted by the confessional controversies, and the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had withdrawn from it; and since the Southern synods desired to place themselves upon

a more positive confessional basis than that held by the Northern body, it was resolved to continue as a separate body, and simply to change the name to correspond with the change in political relations. The name adopted was "The Evangelical Lutheran General Synod in North America." Ten years later the name was changed to "The Evangelical Lutheran General Synod South."

From 1870 to 1872 the Holston Synod was a member of this body. The Mississippi Synod was admitted in 1872. The Synod of North Carolina withdrew in 1870 and did not reunite until 1880.

4. Aloofness of the Tennessee Synod

The Tennessee Synod had, as a matter of principle, refrained from joining the General Synod in the North, and did not unite with this general body in the South. Their confessional standpoint had caused them to hold themselves aloof. After their separation from the Northern General Synod, the other synods of the South developed a more decided Lutheran consciousness. Their antithesis to the Tennessee Synod disappeared more and more. Moreover, the synods south of the Potomac became convinced that, in order to enjoy the inestimable advantages of concentration, they must either unite in the organization of a body which should include the greatest possible number of Southern synods, or else as individual synods seek union with the larger ecclesiastical bodies of the North. Since the confessional differences had almost entirely disappeared, the way was open for the former course. In 1867 the Tennessee Synod sent a representative to the convention of the Southern General Synod, to enter into negotiations respecting a union. Although this approach was hailed with joy, nineteen years elapsed before a union actually took place.

5. Organization of the United Synod in the South

On November 12 and 13, 1884, delegates from the North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, Virginia, Southwestern Virginia, Georgia and Holston Synods came together to a Diet at Salisbury, N. C., in order to deliberate on the question of organic union. This time there was a positive result. A doctrinal basis was agreed upon, in which the Holy Scriptures were accepted as the only rule of faith and life, and the

ecumenical symbols, together with the unaltered Augsburg Confession, accepted as a correct and faithful exhibition of the doctrines of Holy Scripture in matters of faith and practice. The other confessions of the Book of Concord were declared to be a correct and Scriptural interpretation of the doctrines taught by the Augsburg Confession, and in full harmony with one and the same Scriptural faith. After an understanding was reached on this important point, only the formalities remained to be arranged. This was done at a meeting, June 23-28, 1886, at Roanoke, Va., which was the first convention of "The United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South." Delegates from the Mississippi Synod were present at this convention, making a total of eight synods joining in the formation of the United Synod.

6. Relation to other Lutheran Bodies

The attitudes and movements, which resulted in the reunion of the three general bodies in the United Lutheran Church, found most favorable conditions for growth in the soil of the United Synod. Exchange of official visitors of the United Synod with the General Synod and the General Council had been arranged long before such relation was established between the other two bodies. When in 1873 the General Synod proposed an exchange of fraternal delegates with the other bodies, the General Council proposed instead a Colloquium on Confessional matters, and this proposal came before the Southern body. The Rev. Dr. J. Fry was present and was cordially welcomed as a member of the General Council. The proposal was accepted in the following language: "Resolved, 1st, That we do most heartily approve of the holding of such Colloquium for the fraternal examination of our Confessions in the light of God's Word. . . . Resolved, 3rd, That a committee of five ministers and five laymen be appointed to cooperate with similar committees that may be appointed, in arranging the points for friendly discussion at the proposed Colloquium, and the time and place of its convention." When difficulties arose which made impossible a Colloquium of official representatives, arrangements were made privately resulting in the Free Diets of 1877 and 1878.

Exchange of fraternal delegates with the Northern bodies began after action by the General Synod South. According

to the Minutes of that body in convention at Staunton, Va., May 25, 1876, "The following was adopted:

"Whereas, It is eminently desirable that the adherents to the unaltered Augsburg Confession in the United States be more closely related than they are at present, and

"Whereas, We believe, that such close fellowship would greatly advance the Lutheran faith in our beloved land, and thereby contribute to the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, therefore,

"Resolved, That we send a delegate bearing the fraternal greetings of this body to the next session of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America; and also a delegate to the next session of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America, on condition that any existing resolutions of the latter body compromising the Christian character of the ministers and churches represented by this General Synod be rescinded."

That same year a delegate from the General Synod South was welcomed on the floor of the convention of the General Council. The delegate to the General Synod did not attend the convention of that body but sent notice of the action of the General Synod South. The report of the Committee on Correspondence with other Ecclesiastical Bodies, as adopted by the General Synod, appears in the minutes of 1877.

"The only resolution of any of our General Synods, known to your Committee, which would be affected by this requirement of the General Synod South is found on page 31 of the Minutes of the meeting at Lancaster, Pa., in 1862. In the deliberate judgment of your Committee, the language of this resolution does not, by either fair or forced interpretation, compromise the Christian character of our Southern ministers and churches, and therefore the way to the completion of the friendly relations contemplated by the Southern General Synod is rendered not only possible, but also highly desirable. We offer the following:

"Whereas, in the judgment of this General Synod, the action of former General Synods was not intended to compromise the Christian character of the ministers and churches of the General Synod South, and is not so interpreted by us; and whereas, if there be anything found therein that can rightfully be so construed (i. e., as compromising the Christian character of said ministers and churches), we hereby place upon record our belief that such is not the sentiment of this Body; therefore

"Resolved, That the duly commissioned delegate from the Southern General Synod be officially informed of this action, and be

cordially invited to consummate the object of his appointment by appearing in our midst, and by presenting his credentials in person.

"Resolved, That the officers of this General Synod be, and they are hereby authorized to appoint a delegate to return our most cordial fraternal greetings to the Southern General Synod, should the way for such appointment be opened by the acceptance of this overture."

Such action was mutually satisfactory. From this time until the merger in 1918, fraternal delegates were exchanged with the Northern bodies by the General Synod South, and its successor, the United Synod in the South. Besides such exchange of greetings, the Southern body coöperated in certain Foreign Missionary work. Until its own work was organized after the war, the Southern churches shared in the support of the Foreign Mission work of the Northern General Synod. Beginning with 1908 the General Council joined with the United Synod in support of the latter's mission in Japan.

The first task in which all three general bodies participated was in the preparation of the "Common Service." In this matter the General Synod South took the initiative. By action taken at Newberry, S. C., May 2-8, 1878, it was

"Resolved, That our Visitor to the General Council be instructed to inquire whether that Body will be willing to appoint a Committee to coöperate with a similar Committee appointed by this Synod for the purpose of preparing a Service Book adapted to the wants of the congregations represented in both Bodies.

"Resolved, That our delegate to the General Synod North be instructed to make a similar proposition to that Body."

This suggestion was accepted by the Northern bodies. A decade later the "Common Service" had been adopted by the three bodies and was in print. Coöperation along this line continued, culminating in the preparation and publication of the *Common Service Book*.

7. Doctrinal Standards

While no Southern synod had adopted the "Definite Platform" of 1855, there was still room for the growth of conservative confessional sentiment. The following doctrinal statement from the constitution of the General Synod of the Confederate States is on a par with that of the Northern body.

"We receive and hold that the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice.

"We likewise hold that the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Augsburg Confession, contain the fundamental doctrines of the Sacred Scriptures, and we receive and adopt them as the exponents of our faith.

"Inasmuch as there has always been, and still is, a difference of construction among us with regard to several articles of the Augsburg Confession; therefore we, acting in conformity with the spirit and time-honored usage of our Church, hereby affirm that we allow the full and free exercise of private judgment in regard to those articles."

Such was the wording in 1863. But when the constitution was revised three years later, the third paragraph was omitted from the doctrinal statement. The rapid rise of sentiment for the unequivocal acceptance of the Confessions is indicated by a resolution of 1872: "It (the General Synod South) was designed to nurture and secure unity 'in the one true faith.' To promote this end it has placed itself unequivocally upon the Ecumenical Creeds and the Augsburg Confession, 'in its true native and original sense.'" It will be noted that in the resolution proposing an exchange of fraternal delegates with the Northern bodies, the address is made to "the adherents to the unaltered Augsburg Confession." Acceptance of the other symbolical books was declared in 1880 in a statement "concerning our estimation of symbols adopted subsequently to the Augsburg Confession." The statement begins: "Resolved that we acknowledge said additional testimonies as in accord with and an unfolding of the teachings of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession." The high confessional position taken by the United Synod at the time of its organization has already been described in section five of this chapter.

8. Liturgical Development

The need of solid ground in liturgical matters was generally felt at the time of the separation of the Southern synods from the General Synod. At their preliminary meeting at Salisbury in 1862, a committee on Liturgy and a committee on Hymn-book and Catechism were appointed. Both committees presented reports at the first regular convention at Concord, N. C., in 1863, at which time a committee to prepare the *Book*

of *Worship* for publication was appointed. The book was not published until 1867, however, due to the conditions of wartime.

It was by the invitation of the General Synod South that the three general bodies appointed a joint committee to prepare a "Common Service." The other bodies accepted the General Council's requirement that the Service should be constructed in harmony with the pure Lutheran liturgies of the 16th century. The resultant "Common Service," whose acceptance by the General Synod South and its successor, the United Synod, must be considered distinct liturgical advance, was published in 1888 in the *Book of Worship* of that body.

9. Educational Institutions

The history of the Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary dates back to the year 1830 when the Synod of South Carolina began a theological institution. Several years later the institution was moved to Lexington, S. C., and a classical department added. In 1859 the institution was moved to Newberry, S. C., and became Newberry College. Theological instruction was interrupted by the war. Work was revived by the General Synod South, first at Walhalla, then at Columbia, and finally at Salem, Va. When the General Synod South closed the institution in 1884, the South Carolina Synod again assumed the responsibility and two years later reopened a theological department of Newberry College. The United Synod, from the time of its organization, took an interest in this theological school and assumed control of it in 1892. A site which had been donated in Mt. Pleasant, S. C., proved unsatisfactory. Accepting the liberal offer of Columbia, S. C., the seminary was established in that city. A fine granite building was erected in 1911, and another since the merger.

In 1918 the United Synod had five colleges and three junior colleges. Newberry College, Newberry, S. C., began as the classical department of the Seminary, as has just been noted. Roanoke College, Salem, Va., was founded in 1853. It was the only Southern Lutheran institution which continued regular sessions through the Civil War. Elizabeth College was founded in 1897 at Charlotte, N. C. In 1915 it merged with Roanoke Woman's College (founded 1911) at Salem, Va., where the combined college continued. The property of the college was destroyed and work ceased in 1922. Summerland

College for women was founded by the South Carolina Synod at Leesville, S. C., in 1912. It was discontinued in 1929. Lenoir College (now Lenoir-Rhyne) is located at Hickory, N. C., having been founded in 1891. The junior colleges are: Collegiate Institute (until 1902 North Carolina College), Mt. Pleasant, N. C., 1853; Mont Amoena Seminary (until 1894 Mt. Pleasant Female Seminary), Mt. Pleasant, N. C., 1859; Marion College, Marion, Va., 1873.

10. Home and Foreign Missions

Until 1908 Home and Foreign Mission work was under the care of one committee or board. A Committee on Domestic Missions in 1863 was instructed to prepare a constitution for a Central Missionary Society. A Board of Missions was created in 1870 but little seems to have been accomplished in the following decade. Whatever funds were raised were sent to the general Lutheran bodies in the North for mission work. Desiring to have a missionary of their own, the General Synod South commissioned the Rev. W. P. Swartz for work in India in 1884. However he stayed in India but a short while. More lively missionary interest was aroused with the organization of the United Synod. The congregations were urged to organize Women's Missionary Societies and Children's Missionary Societies. In 1887 the United Synod authorized the beginning of work in Japan. The first missionary was Rev. J. A. B. Scherer, who sailed for Japan in 1892. Rev. R. B. Peery followed him the same year. Later, the General Council shared in the support of this Japan Mission.

Only a small amount of Home Mission work was in progress when the United Synod was organized in 1886. From this time on, there was rapid expansion in the Home Mission field compelling in 1908 the creation of a separate Board of Home Missions and Church Extension. The Rev. R. C. Holland, D. D., who had long been the president of the Board of Missions, was in 1908 elected President of the Foreign Board and served with remarkable ability until his death on November 17, 1915.

11. Institutions of Mercy

The United Synod owned an Orphans' Home at Salem, Va. The home was begun by Rev. W. S. McClanahan in 1886 and

was supported by the Lutherans of Virginia. In 1894 the Trustees offered to place the home in organic relation to the United Synod, which offer was accepted the following year.

The United Synod also had the Lowman Home for the Aged and Helpless, located at White Rock, S. C. In 1910 Mrs. Malissa Lowman offered to the South Carolina Synod about a thousand acres of land and other property, valued at nearly thirty thousand dollars, for the establishment of a home for the indigent and aged. This offer the Synod accepted. The responsibility for the home thus founded was assumed by the United Synod in 1914.

At the time of the Merger in 1918 the ownership of these two institutions of mercy was transferred to its constituent synods by the United Synod. The homes are now owned by the Southern synods jointly.

12. Constituent Synods in 1918

At the time of the Merger in 1918, the United Synod in the South consisted of eight synods, whose names and dates of organization follow: North Carolina Synod, 1803; Tennessee Synod, 1820; South Carolina Synod, 1824; Virginia Synod, 1829; Southwest Virginia Synod, 1842; Mississippi Synod, 1855; Georgia Synod, 1860; and Holston Synod, 1861.

¹ Biographical Notes

The Henkel Family. Anthony Jacob Henkel, the head of the American branch of this family, ordained in Germany February, 1692, as a court-preacher offended his sovereign by a sermon against immoral French ideas being introduced into Germany. He resigned and with his family came to Pennsylvania in 1717 where, following the Falckners, he was one of the earliest German Lutheran pastors. Located at New Hanover, he preached also at Germantown and Philadelphia and the surrounding country, going as far as Virginia. He died in 1728 after being thrown from a horse. (He has often been confused with his son Gerhard. See J. J. Kline, *History of the Lutheran Church in New Hanover*, p. 161; Finck, *Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America*, pp. 96-98.) His great-grandson, Paul Henkel, whose immediate descendants constitute the well-known family of Lutheran ministers, was born December 15, 1754, in Rowan County, N. C. He studied theology under Pastor Krug at Fredericktown, Md., and was ordained in 1792 by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to

become pastor at New Market, Va. From this place he made missionary tours into West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana and Ohio. He took part in the organization of the North Carolina Synod, the Ohio Synod, and the Tennessee Synod. He was the author of catechisms, hymnals and other religious books, both in German and English. He died at New Market, Va., in 1825. The second and fourth of his sons, Philip and David, took part in the organization of the Tennessee Synod. David was especially gifted, and wrote a number of valuable works. The third son, Ambrosius, also a minister, conducted the celebrated Lutheran publishing house in New Market. The fifth and sixth sons, Andrew and Charles, were pastors in Ohio. The Henkels knew how to employ the press in the service of the Lutheran Church. The oldest son of Paul Henkel, Solomon, a physician of note, had owned a printing press, by means of which he placed Lutheran books on the market. His son, also a physician, conceived the idea of translating and publishing the Book of Concord—a plan which was carried out under the direction of his uncle, the Rev. Ambrosius Henkel. Up to 1903 the publishing house in New Market was in the hands of Dr. Socrates Henkel, a son of the Rev. David Henkel previously mentioned. The majority of the sons of the Henkels that have been enumerated also entered the ministry. Baptismal names like "Eusebius," "Polycarp," "Trenaeus," "Ambrosius," reveal the spirit of consecration to the service of the Church which must have prevailed in this honorable family for generations.

Dr. John Bachman, distinguished for his learning and practical talent, was born in 1790 in Rhinebeck, N. Y. His theological studies were pursued under the direction of Dr. Quitman. But, unlike his teacher, he was a positive Lutheran. From the time of his ordination till his death in 1874, a period of fifty-six years, he was pastor of St. John's Church in Charleston, S. C. In all important transactions of his time he took part as a leader. During the Civil War, in which he was an enthusiastic supporter of the South, his congregation became scattered. But he soon built it up again. He was prominent in the field of natural science and wrote books on American birds and quadrupeds which secured for him the friendship of Humboldt and Agassiz, and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Berlin. A valuable scientific collection was destroyed and he himself maltreated during the war by some regiments of Sherman's army. He wrote a book on *The Unity of the Human Race* and also *Luther and the Reformation*.

Prof. A. G. Voigt, D. D., LL. D., was born in Philadelphia January 22, 1859. He received his education at the University

of Pennsylvania, Mount Airy, the seminary of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and at Erlangen. He entered the ministry in 1883, and served the congregations of Mt. Holly, N. J. (1883-85) and of Wilmington, N. C. (1898-1903)). From 1885 to 1889, and also from 1891 to 1898 he was theological professor at Newberry, S. C. He served as professor at Thiel College from 1889 to 1891. From 1903-1933 he was dean of the Seminary of the United Synod in the South located at Columbia, S. C. He is one of the authors of the *Lutheran Commentary* and author of a volume on Dogmatics entitled *Between God and Man*. An eminent theologian and a successful teacher, he has also been prominent in effecting the U. L. C. merger and in the organization of the National Lutheran Council. He died Jan. 6, 1933.

Rev. M. G. G. Scherer, D. D., born March 16, 1861, educated at Roanoke College and ordained in 1883, served various pastorates in the South. From 1896 to 1899 he was president of North Carolina College and was theological professor from 1901 to 1904. He was president of the United Synod in the South from 1914 to 1918, and from that time until his death the secretary of the United Lutheran Church in America. He was a member of the American Society of Church History, co-author, with Dr. Knubel, of *Our Church*, and author of *Christian Liberty and Christian Unity*. He died March 9, 1932.

Rev. J. A. Morehead, D. D., LL. D., D. Th., S. T. D., born Feb. 4, 1867, educated at Roanoke College and Mt. Airy Seminary, studied also at the Universities of Berlin and Leipzig. He received the degrees of Doctor of Divinity from Roanoke College in 1902, of Doctor of Laws from Gettysburg College in 1921, of Doctor of Theology from the University of Leipzig in 1922, and of Doctor of Sacred Theology from Elizabeth University of Hungary in 1929. After his ordination in 1892 he served pastorates at Burke's Garden, Va., and Richmond, Va. From 1898 to 1908 he was a professor in the Southern Theological Seminary, and from 1908 to 1919 president of Roanoke College. He also was the president of the United Synod in the South from 1910 to 1914. He was chairman of the European Commission of the National Lutheran Council 1919-1923, executive director of the National Lutheran Council 1923-1929, president of the Second Lutheran World Convention at Copenhagen, 1929, and since 1929 has been president of the Executive Committee for Continuation Work of the Lutheran World Convention. An unusually able executive and a man of great heart, famous for his War Relief work, his name familiar to Lutherans everywhere, he sustains a national and an international reputation.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

1. Fraternal Address of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania took the initiative in the forming of a new general body, known as "The General Council." A few weeks after the withdrawal of the delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania from the General Synod at Fort Wayne, Indiana, in May, 1866, the Ministerium, meeting at Lancaster, Pa., ratified the action of the delegates, and formally severed its connection with the General Synod. At the same convention, the Ministerium authorized the issuing of a call to all synods which confess the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, for the purpose of organizing a new general body upon distinctively Lutheran principles. This call was prepared by Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth, and is also known as "The Fraternal Address."

2. The Reading Convention

In response to this call, a convention was held at Reading, Pa., December 11-14, 1866. Delegates were present from the following thirteen synods: Ministerium of Pennsylvania, New York Ministerium, Pittsburgh Synod, Minnesota Synod, the English Synod of Ohio, Joint Synod of Ohio, English District Synod of Ohio, Wisconsin Synod, Michigan Synod, Iowa Synod, Canada Synod, Norwegian Synod of America, and Missouri Synod. The Augustana Synod was represented by letter. Professor M. Loy, of the Joint Synod of Ohio, preached the opening sermon the evening of Tuesday, December 11th. It was based on the text I Cor. 1:10. The theme was: "The Conditions of Christian Union." These were declared to be: 1. The same faith in the same truth. 2. The same confession of the same faith. 3. The same judgment under the same confession.

The principal work of this convention was the discussion and adoption of the Theses on "Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity," prepared also by Dr. Krauth. These Theses and an "Outline Constitution" were unanimously

adopted. The latter document provided: "that so much of the Constitution thus submitted as shall be accepted by ten Synods adopting the Fundamental Principles, shall at once go into effect, and a Convention be called under it." The new organization was to be called "The General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America."

3. Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity

"We hold the following principles touching the faith of the Church and its polity to be fundamental and of necessity presupposed in any genuine Union of Evangelical Lutheran Synods:

"I. There must be and abide through all time one holy Christian Church, which is the assembly of all believers, among whom the Gospel is purely preached, and the Holy Sacraments are administered, as the Gospel demands.

"To the true Unity of the Church, it is sufficient that there be agreement touching the doctrine of the Gospel, that it be preached in one accord, in its pure sense, and that the Sacraments be administered conformably to God's Word.

"II. The true Unity of a particular Church, in virtue of which men are truly members of one and the same Church, and by which any Church abides in real identity, and is entitled to a continuation of her name, is unity in doctrine and faith and in the Sacraments, to wit: That she continues to teach and to set forth, and that her true members embrace from the heart, and use, the articles of faith and the Sacraments as they were held and administered, when the Church came into distinctive being and received a distinctive name.

"III. The Unity of the Church is witnessed to, and made manifest in, the solemn, public and official Confessions which are set forth, to wit: The generic Unity of the Christian Church in the general Creeds, and the specific Unity of pure parts of the Christian Church in their specific Creeds; one chief object of both classes of which Creeds is, that Christians who are in the Unity of faith, may know each other as such, and may have a visible bond of fellowship.

"IV. That Confessions may be such a testimony of Unity and bond of Union, they must be accepted in every statement of doctrine, in their own true, native, original and only sense. Those who set them forth and subscribe them, must not only agree to use the same words, but must use and understand those words in one and the same sense.

"V. The Unity of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, as a portion of the holy Christian Church, depends upon her abiding in

one and the same faith, in confessing which she obtained her distinctive being and name, her political recognition and her history.

"VI. The Unaltered Augsburg Confession is by preëminence the confession of that faith. The acceptance of its doctrines and the avowal of them without equivocation or mental reservation, make, mark and identify that Church which alone in the true, original, historical and honest sense of the term is the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

"VII. The only Churches, therefore, of any land, which are properly in the Unity of that Communion, and by consequence entitled to its name, Evangelical Lutheran, are those which sincerely hold and truthfully confess the doctrines of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession.

"VIII. We accept and acknowledge the doctrines of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in its original sense as throughout in conformity with the pure truth of which God's Word is the only rule. We accept its statements of truth as in perfect accordance with the Canonical Scriptures: we reject the errors it condemns, and believe that all which it commits to the liberty of the Church, of right belongs to that liberty.

"IX. In thus formally accepting and acknowledging the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, we declare our conviction, that the other Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, inasmuch as they set forth none other than its system of doctrine, and articles of faith, are of necessity pure and scriptural. Pre-eminent among such accordant, pure and scriptural statements of doctrine, by their intrinsic excellence, by the great and necessary ends for which they were prepared, by their historical position, and by the general judgment of the Church, are these: the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, the Catechisms of Luther and the Formula of Concord, all of which are, with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, in the perfect harmony of one and the same scriptural faith."*

4. The Fort Wayne Convention

The first regular convention of the General Council, after the preliminary organization at Reading, was held in Trinity Lutheran Church, Fort Wayne, Indiana, November 20-

* The paragraphs referring to "Ecclesiastical Power and Church Polity" are not reprinted in this connection. See *Proceedings of the Convention held by Representatives from Various Evangelical Lutheran Synods in the United States and Canada Accepting the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, at Reading, Pa., Dec. 12, 13 and 14, A. D. 1866*, pp. 12-14. Also *Documentary History of the General Council*, pp. 139-141; Dr. Jacobs' History, p. 474 f.; Fritschel II, 315-319 (German).

26, 1867, where, in the previous year, the breach had occurred. The convention was called to order by the Rev. Gottlieb Bassler, President of the Reading Convention. The following synods, having adopted the documents of the Reading Convention, and thereby acknowledged themselves as members of the General Council, were represented by delegates: Ministerium of Pennsylvania, New York Ministerium, Pittsburgh Synod, English Synod of Ohio, Synod of Wisconsin, English District Synod of Ohio, Michigan Synod, Swedish Augustana Synod, Minnesota Synod, Canada Synod, and the Synod of Illinois. The German Iowa Synod had sent delegates prepared to unite with the General Council, but because of a decision of this convention they receded from full membership to accept simply the right to debate but not to vote. The Joint Synod of Ohio had sent delegates, but was not prepared to unite fully with the new body, accepting from the first the right to debate but not to vote. The Missouri Synod was not represented. The Norwegian Synod, also, did not send delegates.

The convention first received a report of the action of the synods on the documents proposed at Reading. The necessary number of synods had ratified the "Fundamental Principles of Faith," and the proposed constitution had been adopted in part, but with a number of suggestions and amendments. The great task and accomplishment of this Fort Wayne Convention was the adoption of a constitution. To various committees was entrusted the task of completing the details of organization, e. g., rules of order, an order of business, a congregational constitution, hymn books, missionary work, etc. This and subsequent conventions spent much time in the discussion of matters of doctrine and practice, on which matters various synods desired declarations.

5. The Attitude of Missouri, Ohio, Iowa, and Other Synods

The Missouri Synod was not represented at Fort Wayne. Dr. Walther and Dr. Sihler, in a letter addressed to the convention at Reading, had advised against the organization of a new general body at that time. They argued in favor of free conferences. They declined invitations to hold such a conference in connection with a convention of the General Council. They declared themselves willing to attend a conference whose members came as individuals and not as official

representatives. Correspondence with the Missouri Synod ceased after 1869.

The Joint Synod of Ohio had sent delegates to Fort Wayne, but was not prepared to unite fully with the new body, because they claimed that, despite the adoption of the "Fundamental Principles of Faith," there still existed un-Lutheran practices in various synods. This synod asked the General Council for a declaration on the following "Four Points": 1. Concerning Chiliasm; 2. Concerning altar fellowship ("Mixed Communion"); 3. Concerning pulpit fellowship; 4. Concerning secret societies. The Synod of Iowa also desired a declaration concerning the last three points. Because the Council was not prepared to give a decisive answer to the question of pulpit and altar fellowship, the delegates of the Joint Synod of Ohio declined to join the Council, and before the close of the convention the delegates of the Iowa Synod also declared that their Synod could not fully unite with the Council. A special difficulty in connection with the Joint Synod of Ohio existed in the fact that the English District Synod of Ohio, which was part of Joint Synod, was admitted into the Council against the wishes of the Joint Synod. At the Fort Wayne Convention the Iowa Synod and the Joint Synod of Ohio held a semi-official relation to the General Council, with the right to debate, but not to vote. This relationship was continued by the Iowa Synod but the Joint Synod of Ohio withdrew entirely.

After the next convention of the General Council at Pittsburgh, Pa., 1868, when the "Four Points" were again discussed and action taken, the Wisconsin Synod withdrew. Because of dissatisfaction with the action taken on this subject, the Synod of Minnesota and the Illinois Synod withdrew after the 1870 convention in Lancaster, Ohio. Beginning with 1872 the English Synod of Ohio is omitted from the roll. Because of dissatisfaction concerning pulpit fellowship the Michigan Synod also severed its connection with the General Council in 1887.

6. The Galesburg Rule and Its Interpretations

Pulpit and altar fellowship constituted two of the "Four Points," the discussion of which occupied such a prominent place in the first ten years of the General Council. The aim of

the General Council was to be gradually educational; the German Synods of the West desired thorough-going disciplinary regulations. The General Council aimed at genuine Lutheran practice, but the Western synods demanded this to a degree that the Eastern and older synods could not attain.

At the Pittsburgh Convention of 1868 certain statements were adopted dealing with the "Four Points" named by the Joint Synod of Ohio. This clear and explicit "Pittsburgh Declaration" was not satisfactory to some synods, particularly as it dealt with pulpit and altar fellowship. At the convention at Lancaster, Ohio, in 1870, President Krauth, prompted by a question on the part of the Minnesota Synod, made the declaration: "The Rule is: Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers; Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants." At the next convention, at Akron, Ohio, in 1872, the delegates of the Iowa Synod desired that this declaration should be made the official action of the General Council. In reply the Council gave the following declaration:

"1. The Rule is: Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only. Lutheran altars are for Lutheran communicants only.

"2. The exceptions to this rule belong to the sphere of privilege, not of right.

"3. The determination of the exceptions is to be made in consonance with these principles by the conscientious judgment of the pastors as the cases arise."

At Galesburg, Illinois, in 1875, the following resolution was adopted:

"That the General Council expresses its sincere gratification at the progress of a true Lutheran practice in different Synods, since its action on communion and exchange of pulpits with those not of our Church, as well as the clear testimony in reference to these subjects, officially expressed by the Augustana Synod, at its convention in 1875; nevertheless we hereby renewedly call the attention of our pastors and churches to the principles involved in that testimony, in the earnest hope that our practice may be conformed to our united and deliberate testimony on this subject, viz.: the rule, which accords with the Word of God and with the confessions of our Church, is: 'Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only—Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only.'"

This Galesburg declaration was severely criticized in the public press and caused considerable disturbance in the Church for a number of years, principally because points two and three of the Akron declaration appeared to have been set aside. In order to clear up the misunderstandings, President Krauth was asked in 1876 to prepare a series of theses explaining the position of the General Council on the question of pulpit and altar fellowship. This document of one hundred five theses was the subject of debate at conventions as late as 1881. Finally in 1889, in reply to a question presented by the New York Ministerium, the General Council declared "that at the time of the passage of the Galesburg Rule by the General Council, the distinct statement was made that all preceding action of the General Council on Pulpit and Altar Fellowship was unchanged." The formal action, taken in 1889, is as follows: "Inasmuch as the General Council has never annulled, rescinded or reconsidered the declarations made at Akron, Ohio, in the year 1872, they still remain in all their parts and provisions, the action and rule of the General Council." Dr. Jacobs therefore says correctly in *Lutheran Cyclopaedia*, under "Galesburg Rule": "What is generally known as the Galesburg Rule is properly the Akron Rule of 1872." The difficulty lay between the less strict and the more strict synods, between those who would and those who would not make exceptions to the rule. Soon, however, the stricter practice prevailed throughout the General Council.

7. Secret Societies and Chiliasm

Concerning the matter of "Secret Societies," the General Council in 1868 set forth a declaration, sections two and three of which read:

"Any and all societies for moral and religious ends which do not rest on the supreme authority of God's Holy Word, as contained in the Old and New Testaments, which do not recognize our Lord Jesus Christ as the true God and the only Mediator between God and man, which teach doctrines or have usages or forms of worship condemned in God's Word and in the Confessions of His Church, which assume to themselves what God has given to His Church and its Ministers, which require undefined obligations to be assumed by oath, are unchristian, and we solemnly warn our members and ministers against all fellowship with, or connivance at, associations which have this character."

"All connection with infidel and immoral associations we consider as requiring the exercise of prompt and decisive discipline, and after faithful and patient monition and teaching from God's Word, the cutting off the persistent and obstinate offender from the communion of the Church until he abandons them and shows a true repentance."

The first of the "Four Points" dealt with Chiliasm, the teaching that Jesus Christ will come again to set up a kingdom on earth and reign a thousand years. Dr. J. A. Seiss, chairman of the delegation of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1866, and author of the book, *The Last Times*, was generally regarded as a chiliast, though he modified his views from time to time. This probably accounts for the question of the Joint Synod of Ohio. The reply of the General Council comprised three articles. The first declared entire acceptance of the doctrine of our Lord's coming and the Last Things as set forth in the General Creeds and the Augsburg Confession. The second rejected the Jewish or Chiliastic opinions condemned in the Augsburg Confession. The third left as open questions the points on which our Confession is not explicit and which are interpreted in harmony with it.

8. Language Problems

The General Council encountered the usual difficulties in the change to English from other languages. At the time of its organization the German and Swedish languages largely prevailed. Though a large number of the western German synods gradually withdrew, the German element was still strong. The New York Ministerium was almost entirely a German-speaking body after the English element withdrew and formed the Synod of New York and New England. The Manitoba Synod and the Synod of Canada were German synods also. The Swedish Augustana Synod was very large and influential. The General Council also labored among the Slav nationalities in this country. But the use of the English language constantly gained ground. As early as 1869, the General Council by an official declaration advocated the introduction of services in English for the sake of the young people in the congregations. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Pittsburgh Synod exercised no small influence in Ohio and Indiana, especially since the most influential men (Krauth,

Schaeffer, Krotel, Seiss, Mann, Schmucker, Roth, Weidner, Gerberding, and others), wrote in English. The organ of the English part of the General Council was *The Lutheran*. That of the Germans was *Der Deutsche Lutheraner*. In the *Lutheran Church Review* the General Council had an excellent theological quarterly.

9. Relations with the United Synod and the General Synod

Since the fraternal relations of the General Council have been described in chapters VI and VII, simply an outline needs be given here. In contrast to the General Synod that emphasized coöperation more than doctrine, the General Council laid primary stress upon confessional matters. When in 1873 the General Synod proposed an exchange of fraternal delegates, the General Council suggested instead a colloquium on confessional matters. This could not be arranged officially, but through the interest of Dr. Seiss and Dr. Morris the Free Lutheran Diets of 1877 and 1878 were held and attended by men of both general bodies. A fraternal visitor from the General Synod South was received in 1876. Three years later the General Council agreed to join with the Southern General Synod in the preparation of a common order of service. This agreement, which came to include the General Synod, resulted in the publication of the "Common Service," and, at a later period of the *Common Service Book*.

The proposal of the General Synod in 1893 for coöperation in practical work resulted in the appointment of a committee to confer with representatives of the General Synod. Two years later a visitor from the General Synod appeared on the floor of the General Council and approval was given to an agreement reached with the General Synod and the United Synod in the South in matters of Home Mission, Foreign Mission, and Publication work. The General Council in 1903 favored the holding of annual joint meetings of the Boards of Home and Foreign Missions, Publication, Faculties of Theological Seminaries and Colleges, and Deaconess Mother-houses as measures of practical coöperation.

General Council pastors attended the Free Conferences of 1898, 1902 and 1904 which aided in cultivating a sympathetic spirit. The General Council's question in 1907 concerning the confessional basis of the General Synod was the

incentive that produced a clearer doctrinal statement in that body. And in 1913 the General Council was quite willing to join in a joint celebration of the quadricentennial of the Reformation by appointing members to the Joint Committee out of whose activity came the organization of the United Lutheran Church.

10. Education

Five theological seminaries were maintained by the General Council. The oldest was the Augustana Seminary at Rock Island, Ill., founded in 1860 and maintained by the Augustana Synod. The Philadelphia Seminary, which opened in 1864 in the rooms of the Publication House, was removed in 1889 to Mt. Airy in Philadelphia. The institution possesses a valuable property, commodious buildings, a large endowment and a very valuable library housed in a magnificent building erected in memory of Charles Porterfield Krauth. The Chicago Seminary, founded through the activity of Dr. Passavant, was opened in 1891. Since 1910 it has been located at Maywood, a suburb of Chicago. It has served the territory about Chicago and the Northwest. The Pacific Seminary was founded in 1910 at Portland, Oregon, but was later moved to Seattle, Washington. The Waterloo Seminary at Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, was opened in 1911 and was supported by the Canadian synods.

Ten classical institutions of collegiate grade were maintained by synods of the General Council. These institutions with their dates of founding were: Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill., 1850; Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minn., 1862; Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa., 1867; Thiel College, Greenville, Pa., 1870; Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan., 1881; Wagner Memorial College, Rochester, N. Y., 1883; Upsala College, Kenilworth, N. J., 1893; Weidner Institute, Mulberry, Ind., 1900; Evangelical Lutheran College, Saskatoon, Sask., 1912; Waterloo College, Waterloo, Ont., 1915. Four of these, Augustana, Gustavus Adolphus, Bethany and Upsala, belonged to the Augustana Synod. Some of the ten were junior colleges.

Within the General Council was maintained the Lankenau School for Girls at Philadelphia, Pa., and seven academies: Allentown Preparatory School, Allentown, Pa.; Luther Acad-

emy, Wahoo, Neb.; Northwestern College, Fergus Falls, Minn.; Minnesota College, Minneapolis, Minn.; Coeur d'Alene College, Coeur d'Alene, Ida.; North Star College, Warren, Minn.; and Trinity College, Round Rock, Texas. All of these, except the Lankenau and Allentown Schools, were Augustana Synod institutions.

11. Home and Foreign Missions

As a temporary arrangement in Home Mission work in 1867, an Executive Committee on Domestic Missions was chosen to organize and carry on the work. The Plan of Action, adopted the following year, provided for an Executive Committee of Home Missions to care for mission work outside the territories of the synods, and to coöperate with synodical committees in work within the synods. The district synods were asked to give one fifth of their Home Mission funds to the General Council committee. Beginning with the year 1882 the work was carried on by three committees: the Committee of English Home Missions, the Committee of German Home Missions, and the Committee of Swedish Home Missions which was the committee of the Augustana Synod. Each synod continued to manage the mission work on its own territory. But efforts began to be made to centralize the work. There was much sentiment against centralization of any sort among the synods of the General Council. It was not until 1907 that a plan which used the milder word "unification" was adopted whereby the responsibility for the work lay with the General Council board. During this period of synodical control, the synods had done aggressive work following the example of the Pittsburgh Synod under the inspiring leadership of Dr. W. A. Passavant.

The English Home Mission Board, under the energetic Secretary, Dr. J. C. Kunzman, was exceptionally active and successful. The Board reported in 1918 that during its history three hundred ninety-one congregations had been organized or aided, of which number two hundred fifty-six had become self-sustaining and one hundred thirty-five were still under the care of the Board. A Church Extension and Mission Society, which made loans without interest to congregations for the erection of churches, had assets in 1918 of over three hundred thousand dollars. The work of the Board was also

materially aided by the Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Societies.

The Board of German Missions, through Pastor F. Wischan (d. 1905), entered into relations with Pastor J. Paulsen, Kropp, Schleswig, encouraged him in 1882 to establish a Theological Seminary for the preparation of men for work in America, and received from him many capable men. The Council, however, soon demanded that the students coming from Kropp should spend the last year of their course in the Philadelphia Seminary. Pastor Paulsen refused to comply with this demand. This led to a spirited conflict, which was intensified by personal differences between individuals in the Council, and resulted, in 1888, in the action of the Council that it was inexpedient to continue the official connection with the institution at Kropp, and the official relation ceased. Pastor Paulsen, however, continued to prepare men for the German synods of the General Council. Despite many financial difficulties, his seminary continued to exist, and received financial support from many German congregations and pastors. In 1909 the interrupted official relation between Kropp and the Council was again restored, and the mutual relations re-established under the supervision of a special commission, of which the President of the General Council, Dr. Schmauk, was the chairman. The Theological Seminary at Kropp received annually a definite sum of money from the Council, and in return placed its graduates at the disposal of the Board of German Missions. From 1913 to 1915 the General Council had an American professor, the Rev. C. T. Benze, D. D., at Kropp. In the midst of such bright prospects, the World War broke out suddenly, taking nearly all the students into the army and severing communications with America. Then Pastor Paulsen died. About the time of his passing away the agreement with Kropp expired and could not be renewed. The Board turned to Saskatoon College, Saskatoon, Sask., begun in 1911, for candidates for the ministry in German churches.

The Board of German Missions, with limited means at its command, accomplished much. Beginning in 1881 with a few missions, its work soon spread over Michigan, Nebraska, Texas, Utah, California and Canadian provinces. In later years the chief emphasis was upon the work in Manitoba and

adjoining provinces. The German Manitoba Synod, organized in 1897, is one of the fruits of its labors. The monthly paper, *Siloah*, kept alive the missionary interest in the German congregations. In 1918 there were twenty-seven missions under the care of the Board of German Missions.

The Board of Swedish Missions reported to the General Council but was responsible chiefly to the Augustana Synod. It carried on extended missionary operations covering all the United States and reaching even to Alaska. Its mission stations in 1918 numbered nearly five hundred. (See the chapter, "The Augustana Synod.")

A part of the Home Mission activity of the General Council was the work among the Slav and Hungarian and allied nationalities carried on by the Slav and Hungarian Mission Board. This work was begun in 1905. The Rev. Dr. A. L. Ramer, the superintendent, spent two years in Hungary before he entered upon his labors at home. The lack of suitable laborers is particularly felt in this work. In 1918 the missions numbered: Slovak, seventeen; Magyar, nine; Letts, ten; Slovenians, one; Siebenbuergers, nine; a total of forty-six, to which must be added fifty-one preaching stations visited by the superintendent. In the last few years of their existence the combined expenditures of these four boards exceeded two hundred thousand dollars annually.

Mission work was begun in Porto Rico after the cessation of the Spanish-American War. The first missionaries were the Rev. B. F. Hankey and the Rev. H. F. Richards. Beginning with the year 1901 the work was directed by the Board of Missions for Porto Rico and Latin America. The work had grown to include nine congregations and thirteen missions in 1918. Related to this work was the care of the Lutheran congregations in the Virgin Islands. When it became known in 1916 that the United States would buy these islands from Denmark, arrangements, which were still in progress in 1918, were begun to transfer the care of Lutheran work there to the General Council.

The history of the Foreign Mission work of the General Council is closely connected with that of the General Synod. In consequence of the separation at Fort Wayne in 1866, and the subsequent organization of the General Council, the General Synod found it impossible to continue the work in India

to the same extent as it had been begun. It decided, therefore, to transfer a part of the territory (Rajahmundry and Samul-kot Districts) to the Church Missionary Society (Episcopal) of England. When Father Heyer, a returned missionary, heard of the contemplated transfer while on a visit to Germany, he returned hastily to America, went to the Pennsylvania Ministerium, then in session at Lancaster, Pa. (spring of 1869), and influenced the Ministerium to take over these mission stations and save them for the Lutheran Church. Although seventy-seven years of age, he declared himself ready to return to India and to organize the work. He sailed for India in August of that year. Soon afterward he was joined by two young men educated for mission work in Denmark, one of whom, Rev. H. C. Schmidt, was ordained in America by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. In 1871, after having completed the work of organization, Father Heyer returned to America. Schmidt remained at the head of the mission until 1902, when he resigned his position. The Rev. J. H. Harpster, D. D., who was borrowed from the General Synod Board of Foreign Missions, succeeded him.

Until 1876 the Executive Committee of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania administered Foreign Mission affairs for the General Council. After that date the General Council had a Foreign Missionary Committee, which, in 1891, became the Board of Foreign Missions. In 1905 the Board created the office of General Secretary, which office was filled from that date until 1918 by the Rev. George Drach, D. D. Missionary information was furnished the congregations through the *Missionsbote*, which began publication in 1878, and the *Foreign Missionary*, which began in 1880.

The work in India made very remarkable progress. Miss Agnes I. Schade and Miss Kate S. Sadtler were sent out in 1891 as the first zenana workers. Medical work was begun in 1899 with Miss Lydia Woerner, M. D., in charge. Ten years later the erection of a hospital was begun at Rajamundry. Beginning in 1908, the General Council joined with the United Synod in the South in providing missionaries for the United Synod's station in Japan.

Receipts for Foreign Mission work in the year 1869-70 were \$2,480; for the year ending June 30, 1918, \$112,254. The work in India had grown to include, in 1918, 26,000 baptized

members, six hundred seventy-one schools, a hospital and training school for nurses, a staff of twenty-two missionaries, and property worth \$200,000. At that time there were also six General Council missionaries in Japan.

12. Inner Missions and Institutions of Mercy

The extent of the work done in Institutions of Mercy and Inner Mission effort is impressive. Within the General Council there were sixty institutions of various sorts which were partly in direct connection with individual synods, and partly had the character of private institutions. Orphanages were most numerous, twenty-one being on record. The Passavant homes at Zelienople, Pa., Germantown, Pa., and Mt. Vernon, N. Y., are widely known. The orphanages of the Augustana Synod were numerous and widely scattered. Homes for the aged, of which the General Council had seventeen, were in some instances connected with the orphanages. Dr. Passavant, whose tireless activity furnished the impetus for such wide-spread Inner Mission interest, founded hospitals at Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Chicago and Jacksonville, Ill. In 1918 there were eleven hospitals within the interest of the General Council. Seven hospices were maintained and in many cities there were Inner Mission Societies, either composed entirely of General Council people, or partly by General Council Lutherans and partly by Lutherans of other general bodies. These Inner Mission Societies developed helpful activity in rendering aid to social and spiritual needs in the large cities. In Philadelphia city mission work was carried on for years under the direction of the Rev. Dr. J. F. Ohl in connection with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The General Council did a valuable work for newly arrived immigrants. The Lutheran Immigrant House in New York, whose founder and director until his death in 1899 was Pastor W. Berkemeier, serving there for twenty-five years, rendered valuable service to thousands of German immigrants. A German Seamen's Home, whose pastor was appointed by the Pennsylvania Ministerium, existed for a number of years. A similar undertaking, the German Seaman's Home in Hoboken, was connected with the German Lutheran Union for the care of seamen in Hannover.

Through Dr. Passavant, the General Council took a prominent place in the work of deaconesses. For the direction and

development of the female diaconate, Dr. A. Spaeth rendered valuable services. Chiefly through his influence, a German-American, John Diedrich Lankenau, established in 1888 in Philadelphia, the Mary J. Drexel Motherhouse, in memory of his wife, as the first Deaconess Motherhouse in America. It was the largest and most magnificent institution of its kind in the Lutheran Church in America. In connection with the Motherhouse there are a home for the aged, a children's hospital, and the Lankenau School for Girls. The three other motherhouses were located at Omaha, Neb., St. Paul, Minn., and Milwaukee, Wis. The Augustana Synod supported the Omaha and the St. Paul motherhouses.

13. Literary Activity

The record of the General Council would not be complete without a mention of the literature produced by the General Council. A large number of clear thinkers and able writers created a Lutheran literature whose volume, value and influence was unsurpassed. In addition to the publications mentioned in section 8 of this chapter, there was issued a surprisingly large number of books and pamphlets. Outstanding in influence among these were Dr. Krauth's *Conservative Reformation*, Dr. Gerberding's *The Way of Salvation in the Lutheran Church*, Jacobs and Haas, *The Lutheran Cyclopedia*, and Jacobs' *Introduction to the Confessional Books of the Lutheran Church*. The doctrines and practice of the Church were thus available for study and information. Beginning with Dr. B. M. Schmucker there were scholars producing a literature on liturgics and hymnology, in which fields the General Council took the lead. Noteworthy, also, is the literature produced in the work of religious education, of special importance being the Lutheran Graded Series of Sunday School Lessons.

14. Constituent Synods in 1918

The following synods, with the dates of their organization, constituted the General Council in 1918: Ministerium of Pennsylvania, 1748; Ministerium of New York, 1786; Pittsburgh Synod, 1845; District Synod of Ohio, 1861; Synod of Canada, 1861; Chicago Synod, 1896; Synod of the Northwest, 1891; German Manitoba Synod, 1891; Pacific Synod, 1892;

Synod of New York and New England, 1902; Synod of Nova Scotia, 1903; Synod of Central Canada, 1909; Synod of Texas, 1906. This was a total of thirteen synods. The Augustana Synod, which declined to join the United Lutheran Church, withdrew from the General Council in 1918.

Biographical Notes

Prof. W. J. Mann, D. D., born May 29, 1819, at Stuttgart, Wuerttemberg, equipped with an excellent theological training, came to America in 1845 through the influence of his intimate friend, Dr. Philip Schaff. At first he was pastor of a Reformed congregation, coöperated with Dr. Schaff in editing the *Deutscher Kirchenfreund*, later becoming editor-in-chief. In 1850 he joined the Lutheran Church, was received into the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, served Zion congregation in Philadelphia, and in 1864 became German professor in the Philadelphia Seminary. He took a prominent part in combating "American Lutheranism" through two excellent books, *A Plea for the Augsburg Confession* (1856) and *Lutheranism in America* (1859). He was a very prolific writer, and published, among other things, a biography of Muhlenberg in German and English entitled *Life and Times of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*. He rendered the Church an exceptionally valuable service in editing a new edition of the *Hallische Nachrichten*. This noted German-American theologian, with his rich theological idealism, is represented to us in a pleasing manner by Dr. A. Spaeth in his *Erinnerungsblaetter*. He died in 1892.

Rev. B. M. Schmucker, D. D., son of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, received his training at Gettysburg College and Seminary. Through the influence of Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth he was led to become identified with the conservative party in the Lutheran Church, and became a member of the General Council. He was the foremost liturgical scholar of the Lutheran Church in America, and the *Church Book* of the General Council, the English as well as the German, is primarily the product of his eminent liturgical and hymnological studies. He was a member of the Joint Committee for the preparation of the "Common Service," and the preface is the work of his facile pen. He died in 1888.

Rev. G. F. Krotel, D. D., LL. D., born February 4, 1826, in Alsfeld, Wuerttemberg, came with his parents to Philadelphia in 1830. For a number of years he attended an academy in Philadelphia connected with the parochial school of St. Michael's and Zion congregations. In 1842 he entered the University of Pennsylvania and graduated in 1846. He studied theology under Dr. Demme, and entered the office of the ministry in 1850. He

served congregations in Philadelphia, Lebanon, Lancaster, Pa., again in Philadelphia in 1861, at the same time serving as a member of the faculty of the Philadelphia Seminary. He was frequently elected to the presidency of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and was President of the General Council in 1869. He was widely known as a pulpit orator. After Dr. Krauth's resignation he became editor of the *Lutheran*, a position in which he manifested excellent gifts. He was a prolific writer, and was one of the most influential men of the General Council. He died in 1907.

Rev. J. A. Seiss, D. D., LL. D., born in Frederick county, Md., educated at Gettysburg College, studied theology, and entered the ministry in 1842. He served congregations in Martinsburg and Shepherdstown, W. Va., Cumberland, Md., Frederick, Md., and Baltimore. In 1858 he became pastor of St. John's English Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, which he served for sixteen years, when out of this congregation the Church of the Holy Communion was organized, which he served until his death in 1904. Dr. Seiss exercised a strong influence as a member of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, whose president he was for many years, and as a member of the General Council, whose president he was also. As a pulpit orator and a writer he was widely known. Particularly well known are his writings on the Last Things (*The Last Times: Lectures on the Apocalypse*, 3 volumes), which caused him to be charged with the introduction of chiliastic errors. He published many books, most of which are expositions of Scripture and discussions of various ecclesiastical questions.

Prof. A. Spaeth, D. D., LL. D., born December 29, 1839, in Esslingen, Wuerttemberg, was educated in the Latin School of his native place, in the Pro-Seminary at Blaubeuren, and in the University of Tuebingen. He was assistant pastor and was ordained in 1861; private tutor in Italy, France and Scotland until 1864, when he accepted a call as associate pastor with Dr. W. J. Mann of Zion Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia. In 1867 he became pastor of the newly organized St. Johannes congregation in Philadelphia. In 1873 he became professor in the Philadelphia Seminary. He was President of the General Council (1880-1888), and of the Pennsylvania Ministerium (1892-1895). He remained pastor of St. Johannes congregation until his death, serving that congregation in addition to his labors in the Seminary. He was a fine liturgical and hymnological scholar, as well as in the province of church music. He also approved himself as a historian (biography of Dr. W. J. Mann; especially of Charles Porterfield Krauth, in 2 volumes). He is the author of the article on the "Lutheran Church in America" in Hauck, *Realencyclopaedie*. He

also published a number of homiletical works: *Sermons for Children*, *Gospels of the Church Year*, *Seed Thoughts*. He had special gifts as a pulpit orator. He took a deep interest in the deaconess work, and to his efforts it is due that the German Hospital in Philadelphia was brought into the existing relation with the Philadelphia Motherhouse for Deaconesses, and that the entire work has attained its present churchly foundation. He died June 25, 1910.

Prof. R. F. Weidner, D. D., LL. D., was born in Center Valley, Lehigh County, Pa., November 22, 1851, and was educated at Muhlenberg College, Allentown, and the Theological Seminary at Philadelphia. He was ordained in 1873, and became pastor of Grace Church, Phillipsburg, N. J., in connection with which he served as professor of English and Logic in Muhlenberg College until 1877. From 1878 to 1882 he was professor of Dogmatics and Exegesis in the Theological Seminary of the Augustana Synod at Rock Island, Ill. He was pastor of St. Luke's Church, Philadelphia, and assistant pastor of the Church of the Holy Communion, Philadelphia for a number of years. In the year 1891 he was elected president of the newly founded Theological Seminary of the General Council in Chicago, and at the same time professor of Dogmatics and Hebrew. All his energies were directed towards the building up of the Seminary, which through his leadership attained an influential position in the Church. He was a prolific writer and published numerous books, many of which were valuable works of German theologians, freely elaborated by him in English. His books cover doctrinal and exegetical subjects. He was the author of the *Commentary on Revelation* in the *Lutheran Commentary*. His activity in behalf of the Seminary and his extensive literary labors continued until the time of his death, January 6, 1915.

Prof. G. H. Gerberding, D. D., LL. D., was born August 21, 1847, in Pittsburgh, Pa. He received his classical training at Thiel College, Greenville, Pa., and at Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa., and his theological training at the Philadelphia Seminary. He was ordained in 1876, and served congregations from 1876 to 1894 when he was called to the Chicago Seminary as professor of Practical Theology. In 1920 he became Professor of Practical Theology in the Northwestern Seminary, continuing there until he retired in 1926. He was the first president of the Synod of the Northwest. He was the author of many valuable pamphlets and books, most important of which are: *The Way of Salvation in the Lutheran Church*, 1887 (a book that has passed through many editions and enjoys a wide circulation); *New Testament Conversions*, 1889; *The Lutheran Pastor*, 1902; *Life and Letters of Passavant*, 1906; *The Lutheran Catechist*, 1910; *Prob-*

lems and Possibilities, Serious Considerations for all Lutherans, 1914. His literary activity continued up to the time of his death, March 27, 1927.

Pres. J. A. W. Haas, D. D., LL. D., born in Philadelphia, August 31, 1862, educated in the University of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia Seminary and Leipzig University, and ordained in 1888. He served congregations in New York until 1904, when he accepted a call as President of Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa., and as professor of Philosophy, a position which he holds at present. He is the author of the *Commentary on the Gospel of Mark* in the *Lutheran Commentary*, 1895; *Bible Literature*, 1903; *Biblical Criticism*, 1903; with Dr. Jacobs, editor of the *Lutheran Cyclopedia*, 1899; *Trends of Thought and Christian Truth*, 1915; *In the Light of Faith*, 1922; *Freedom and Christian Conduct*, 1923; *Unity of Faith and Knowledge*, 1926; *Truth of Faith*, 1927; *What Ought I to Believe?* 1929.

Prof. H. E. Jacobs, D. D., LL. D., S. T. D., born at Gettysburg, Pa., November 10, 1844. He received his training in the College and Seminary at Gettysburg and was professor in that college 1864-1867. He served a mission congregation in Pittsburgh, 1867-1868, was principal of Thiel Hall, 1868-1870, recalled to Gettysburg as professor of Latin and History 1870-1880 and professor of Ancient Languages 1880-1883. In the latter year he accepted a call as professor of Systematic Theology in the Philadelphia Seminary, a position he held until 1927, when he became Professor Emeritus; he was dean of the seminary 1894-1920, and president 1920-1927. From 1882 to 1896 he was also editor of the *Lutheran Church Review*. Under his editorial supervision the *Lutheran Commentary* became a possibility, 1895-1898, as also the *Lutheran Cyclopedia*, 1899. He is the author of the following works, chief among many others: *The Lutheran Movement in England*, 1891; *History of the Lutheran Church in the United States*, 1893; *Elements of Religion*, 1894; *Commentary on Romans*, 1896; *Commentary on First Corinthians*, 1897; *Life of Martin Luther*, 1898; *The German Emigration to America 1709-1740*, 1899; *Summary of the Christian Faith*, 1905. The acknowledged literary and scholarly leadership of Dr. Jacobs has been of inestimable worth to the church. An eminent theologian, outstanding in scholarship, an unusually able teacher, he has been honored both within and without the Lutheran Church. He died July 11, 1932.

Prof. Theodore E. Schmauk, D. D., LL. D., born at Lancaster, Pa., 1860, educated at the University of Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia Seminary, and ordained in 1882. In 1895 he became editor of the *Lutheran Church Review*, 1896 editor of the

graded Sunday School Lessons of the General Council, and in 1911 professor of Apologetics in the Philadelphia Seminary, continuing until his death March 23, 1920. In addition he served a congregation at Lebanon, Pa. From 1903 to 1918 he was president of the General Council. He was president of the Board of Directors of the Philadelphia Seminary, Chairman of the Joint Ways and Means Committee of the merger and member of the Executive Board of the United Lutheran Church 1918-1920. His editing of the "Graded System of Sunday School Lessons" was perhaps his greatest work. He was author of the following works among others: *The Negative Criticism of the O. T.*, 1894; *Catechetical Outlines*, 1892; *History of Old Salem and Lebanon*, 1898; *The Early History of the Lebanon Valley*, 1902; *History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, 1903; *The Confessions and the Confessional Principle of the Lutheran Church*, 1909; *Annotated Edition of Benjamin Rush's Account of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania*, 1910; *Christianity and Christian Union*, 1913. A man of strong character, author, scholar, theologian, executive, pillar of strength in the Church, his numerous interests and his distinguished achievements made his influence far-reaching.

Prof. Henry F. Offermann, D. D., born in Hannover, Germany, 1866, educated in the Gymnasium and at Kropp, came to America in 1889 and did post-graduate work in Semitics at the University of Pennsylvania. He was German Secretary of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania 1900-1908. Since 1910 he has been professor in the Mt. Airy Seminary. He was editor of the *Lutherische Kirchenblatt* 1905-1910, and co-editor of the *Lutheran Church Review*. He is author of *Introduction to the Epistles and Gospels of the Church Year*; *Theological Studies*; and *The Jesus of the New Testament*. He is noted as a theological educator and New Testament exegete.

Rev. George W. Sandt, D. D., LL. D., born February 22, 1854, at Belfast, Pa., educated at Lafayette College and the Philadelphia Seminary, ordained in 1883. He was Professor of English Language and Literature at Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill., 1884-1889. After serving pastorates from 1889 to 1896 he was managing editor of *The Lutheran* 1896-1907 and editor-in-chief of this General Council organ from 1907 to 1918. When, at the time of the Merger, *The Lutheran*, *The Lutheran Church Visitor*, and *The Lutheran Church Work and Observer* were combined in a new official organ under the title *The Lutheran*, Dr. Sandt was chosen editor-in-chief. In this office he continued until he retired in 1928, but continuing as a contributor until his death, January 8, 1931. He was also a member of prominent boards and committees of the Church. He was author of the following books: *How to*

Become a Christian, 1891; *Ninety-five Theses for Protestant Church Doors*, 1893; *Luther's Ninety-five Theses Reëdited*, 1911.

Gottlieb Cleophas Berkemeier, D. D., was born September 25, 1855 in Pittsburgh, Pa., son of the well-known Immigrant Missionary in the port of New York—Rev. W. G. Berkemeier. After attending the parish school at Wheeling, West Virginia, High School at Phillipsburg, Pa., and St. Matthew's Academy in New York, he went abroad, receiving his theological education at Neuen-dettelsau, Erlangen and Leipzig. He was ordained by the New York Ministerium in 1878, became pastor at Poughkeepsie. At the suggestion of Dr. Passavant in 1885 he became the director of the Wartburg Orphans' Farm School at Mount Vernon, N. Y. In the thirty-five years of his service he developed this small orphanage to a large institution. He was a writer of both prose and poetry, including such books as *Hirtenstab*, *Hirten-Schalmel*, *Abcdarium*, etc. Editor, educator, preacher, he was also for many years German secretary of the General Council. His brother-in-law, Dr. E. C. J. Kraeling, has written a German biography of 176 pages of this remarkable man. The inner wealth of his life is therein lovingly expressed. He died Feb. 5, 1924.

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CHAPTER IX

THE MISSOURI SYNOD AND THE SYNODICAL CONFERENCE*

1. The Saxons

The Rev. Martin Stephan, pastor of St. John's Church, Dresden, Germany, from 1810-1837, was the man whose strange personality was to become a factor in the early history of the Missouri Synod. Born of poor Christian parents at Stramberk, Moravia, in 1777, he came, while in Breslau, under the influence of Professor Johann Ephraim Scheibel, the well known leader of the protesting Lutherans in Prussia. Stephan finished his theological studies at Halle and Leipzig, and, as a minister who preached Christ crucified in an age of rationalism, he exerted a remarkable influence on all with whom he came in contact. Out of the depth of his spiritual experiences and on account of his thorough familiarity with the workings of the human heart, he had a peculiar gift of combating doubts and inner conflicts with timely and appropriate advice. He cared little for mere oratorical effects, but stated, in the plainest speech he could command, the gospel of grace. His hearers, unless contaminated with the spirit of the scoffer, were invariably greatly affected. Hungering souls sought his counsel.

Among those who were attracted to him was Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther, then (1829) a theological student at Leipzig, whose influence on the Missouri Synod was to be fraught with such great blessings. He was born in Langenschursdorf, Saxony, October 25, 1811, the son of a minister. Having graduated from the Gymnasium, he intended to study music, but owing to his father's objections, he abandoned this idea. When he became a student at Leipzig, he was utterly ignorant of spiritual matters, but his mind was athirst for knowledge. The ministers and professors at Leipzig were all representatives of rationalism, and could not satisfy the hunger of the young man's heart. Walther spent his last penny for the purchase of a Bible, not knowing where he was

* See Foreword for acknowledgment.

to get his next meal. He took part in the religious meetings of groups of students who assembled for common prayer and the study of the Bible and the writings of Arndt, Francke, Scriver, Bogatzki, and others. These students had found Christ through the guidance of a shoemaker and a retired candidate of theology by the name of Kuehn. The latter was the leader of this circle. Other Saxon students who later emigrated to America, and who participated in the meetings were T. J. Brohm, J. F. Buenger and O. Fuerbringer. Franz Delitsch also belonged to this circle. In his book, *Concerning the House of God and the Church*, he refers to these devotional meetings with deep emotion. It is only natural that, at a time of such spiritual dearth, Walther and his friends should have heard of Pastor Stephan. In his great perplexity Walther addressed a letter to Stephan, the reply to which, as well as the words of the wife of a Leipzig tax collector, helped him to find the peace of God in the forgiveness of sin.

But on account of these inner conflicts, which were accompanied by constant privation, his health gave way. Suffering with an affection of the lungs, he had to leave the university and return home. But this was evidently a part of God's plan for him; for in his father's library he found the works of Luther, and studied them with unwearied application, and thus laid the basis for that thorough acquaintance with the writings of Luther and the old dogmaticians which afterwards distinguished him. In 1834 he completed his studies, became a private teacher until 1836, and was ordained as pastor at Braeunsdorf, Saxony, in 1837. For more than forty years the word of the cross had not been proclaimed in this place. Religious and moral indifference reigned. The order of service, the hymn book and the catechism were rationalistic. The superintendent, who was placed over him and the school-master who was placed under him, both were rationalists. His efforts to introduce Lutheran doctrine and practice met with determined opposition. Other members of the circle of Bible students at Leipzig, who had meanwhile entered the ministry, met with a like experience. These, therefore, as well as Walther, gladly signified their consent when Stephan called on them to leave Germany with him in order to found an ideal Church in America.

2. Migration

The determination to emigrate had grown stronger in the mind of Stephan ever since Dr. Kurtz visited Germany in the interest of the Seminary at Gettysburg. A further reason for this determination is found in the fact that Stephan's work had suffered police interference. Social rambles, lasting until the small hours of the morning, were indulged in by Stephan and some of his most intimate friends. Criticism arose; gossip and superstitious reports were circulated about him. He was accused of neglect of office, mismanagement of funds, and of moral offenses. His noble wife appealed to the King, who ordered all legal proceedings suspended, thus giving Stephan a free hand to put into execution his plan of emigration.

The emigrants, six hundred fifty-five in number, departed from Bremen in five vessels during November, 1838. Stephan left Dresden with the consent of his wife, who remained behind with seven daughters. In the migrating company were seven ministers, eight candidates of theology, four school teachers and three physicians. One of the ships, the "Amalia," sank at sea; the others reached New Orleans. On February 19, 1839, the last of the immigrants arrived at the appointed station, St. Louis.

3. Stephan's Expulsion

On the way over, Stephan had permitted himself to be elected bishop by his followers, who swore to him unconditional obedience. At his command, therefore, a majority of them moved from St. Louis to Perry County, more than a hundred miles to the south. Stephan is said to have ruled like a pasha. Plans were under way for the erection of an episcopal palace for him when trouble arose. Two girls in the St. Louis congregation made accusations against Stephan to their pastor. As a result, a council was held which publicly deposed Stephan and expelled him from the colony. However, Stephan maintained that he was innocent, declaring the charges to be malicious slander. In civil court he was awarded damages for the loss of his personal belongings. Even yet, the matter of Stephan's guilt or innocence is in dispute. After his expulsion from the Perry County colony, Stephan served a congregation at Horse Prairie, near Red Bud, Randolph County, Ill., where he died February 22, 1846.

The colonists now suffered great spiritual confusion that resulted from their sad experience with their once trusted leader. They now recognized that they had done wrong in following him so blindly; that they had been guilty of making an idol of him, and that they had become the occasion of giving offense in the eyes of the world. Indeed, it now seemed to them that they had committed a great sin in thus following their own ways and in dissolving their connection with the Church at home. The pastors themselves imagined that their official acts were invalid, because they had forsaken their calling in the Fatherland. Consciences were confused and distressed. Divisions began to appear. Some openly renounced the public services. Pastor Buenger resigned his office for conscientious scruples. The confusion lasted through the entire summer. The matter finally resolved itself into the crucial question: "Does the true Christian Church really exist or not among those who emigrated with Stephan?" To this question some answered yes, others no.

4. Reconstruction

It was Walther whom God used to console the tempted ones and to save them from despair. Through continued study of the works of Luther and the Lutheran Fathers, he recognized the errors of Stephan in respect to the Church and the ministry. At the same time he became convinced that, according to the seventh article of the Augsburg Confession, the Church consisted of the Invisible Communion of Saints; that where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, there is the Church; that, consequently, these congregations of the colonists were to be regarded as a part of the true Church of Christ, with full authority to call pastors. These convictions Walther successfully maintained in a disputation at Altenburg in 1841. In this way he quieted the minds of the colonists, and brought about the organization of congregations which called their pastors. Meanwhile the outward condition of the settlers had also improved, and a number of flourishing villages rose in the wilderness.

5. Model Constitution

When Walther became pastor of Old Trinity congregation in St. Louis in 1841, he had an opportunity to make prac-

tical applications of his views. Most important was the writing of a constitution for the congregation, adopted in 1843. It was approved only after a thorough discussion of every paragraph and the elimination of every vestige of High-churchism. Differing from the constitutions used by Lutheran congregations of that day, this document contained a confession of faith and definitely stated the qualifications for membership. It established the form and model for government and administration, not only for the congregations but for the synod itself. All Saxons living in St. Louis, though gradually dividing into separate congregations, constituted a *Gesamtgemeinde*, with Walther as *pastor primarius*, or *Oberpfarrer*. The pastors and elders of the district congregations constituted the *Generalvorstand*, all administrative affairs, including the treasury, exercise of church discipline, and nomination of candidates for ministerial office, being managed by all the congregations as a unit. This plan of organization was maintained until after Walther's death in 1887.

6. The Beginning of Concordia Seminary

The leadership of Walther manifested itself in his initiative in the opening of a school for the training of pastors in an obscure log cabin at Altenburg. Instruction began in December, 1839, with seven students in attendance. Walther was in charge, assisted by Fuerbringer, Brohm and Buenger. The institution was patterned after a German Gymnasium in the matter of its curriculum. Out of this early and humble beginning in education grew the great Concordia Seminary in St. Louis.

7. The Lutheraner

In the year 1844, Walther, with the support of his congregation, began the publication of a parish paper under the name *Lutheraner*, whose influence soon spread far beyond the limits of his parish. Its purpose was stated thus: "It is to prove that the Lutheran Church is the true Church of Christ, not a sect. It is to unite the divided members of the Lutheran Church, to recall those that are fallen away, and to prove that our Church has not become extinct, indeed, never can become extinct. Consequently, every article must stand the test of Holy Scriptures and the Symbols of the Evangelical

Lutheran Church." Through this medium Walther set himself to teach what is true, and to expose what is false in doctrine and practice. It made a notable contribution to the organization of the Missouri Synod, whose representative it became.

8. Wyneken and His Appeal

Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken was a man whose name will always be mentioned with respect in any history of the Lutheran Church of America. Having read a missionary report telling of the spiritual needs of Western America, he determined to serve the Lord in the New World. Six months before the "Saxons" had reached the Mississippi Valley he had landed in Baltimore as a candidate of theology. Here he found a Lutheran congregation served by Pastor Haesbart. At the suggestion of this pastor, the Pennsylvania Ministerium sent Wyneken to Indiana for the purpose of gathering into congregations the scattered "Protestants." In Ohio he found large settlements that had no pastor for years. He baptized and confirmed many persons. In every respect he was an ideal missionary. This was his main work, especially during the first part of his American labors.

Thus he extended his work even into central Michigan. He was indefatigable, and like Muhlenberg, had an extraordinary constitution. But amid unnumbered hardships, traveling through woods and swamps, he contracted an affection of the throat. He returned to Europe in 1841, hoping to have his health restored, and earnestly desiring to arouse the Church of Germany to greater missionary zeal. His *Appeal for the Support of the German Protestant Church in North America*, published by a Hannover Society in 1841, attracted great attention. He traveled through all parts of Germany, and was everywhere cordially received. In accordance with a cherished desire, he went to Bavaria to meet Pastor Johann Konrad Wilhelm Loehe of Neuendettelsau, who, having read his *Appeal*, had become deeply interested in the American missionary enterprise.

All this shows the great importance of Wyneken's efforts in both America and Germany. His value to the immigrants of that time can hardly be overestimated. When he returned to America in 1843, the dawn of a better time was breaking. Wyneken soon left the mission field to become Haesbart's suc-

cessor in Baltimore and later one of the leaders in the Missouri Synod. But Loehe, from his parish in Germany, furnished the impetus, funds and men for the continuation of the work.

9. Loehe's Missionaries

In the *Noerdlinger Sonntagsblatt* Loehe had published an appeal for funds to relieve the great dearth of ministers in America; and in a short time he received six hundred gulden (about two hundred fifty dollars). At the same time two young men announced their willingness to be trained for the work. They were Adam Ernst and George Burger. Other organizations promised support, and Loehe therefore undertook, in a very modest way at first, the work of training men. In September, 1842, his first missionaries, Burger and Ernst, arrived in New York. There they met the Rev. Mr. Winkler, who had been called as professor in the Theological Seminary of the Ohio Synod at Columbus, Ohio, and was on his way there. He induced both of them to go with him to Columbus to prepare themselves for the ministry. This fact was the occasion for the temporary connection between Loehe and the Ohio Synod.

The synod requested him to send more students who had received a preliminary training. Such men were sent in rapid succession, among them some who had received a university education. One of the latter was Wilhelm Sihler, around whom the other men sent by Loehe grouped themselves as their leader. In a conflict, in which an English tendency coupled with a milder form of Lutheranism prevailed in the Ohio seminary, all ten of the Loehe men, on advice received from Loehe, left the Ohio Synod and decided to bring about the organization of a new synod on a strictly Lutheran basis.

Some other men whom Loehe had sent to America had gone to Michigan in company with a considerable number of immigrants after 1845. Here a Michigan Synod had existed since 1840, but as early as 1846 the conservative element had withdrawn from it. Here the immigrants sent by Loehe had established the so-called "Franconian" colonies to which he had given the names *Frankenmut*, *Frankentrost*, *Frankenlust*, and *Frankenhilf*. Besides these settlements in Saginaw County there was established a teachers' seminary and an Indian

mission. Among the pastors who came to Michigan was A. Craemer, who later was president for many years of the Practical Seminary of the Missouri Synod at Springfield, Ill. Besides him may be mentioned F. Sievers, J. H. P. Graebner, J. Deindoerfer, G. Grossman, and Baierlein, the missionary to the Indians.

10. Organization of the Missouri Synod

All the men thus far mentioned were "Saxons": the settlers in Missouri; Wyneken, who in 1845 withdrew from the General Synod after protesting against its non-Lutheran features at the Philadelphia convention; and the missionaries of Loehe, who did not feel at home in the Ohio and Michigan synods. These groups—the small one in the West and the larger one in the East—merely needed to be combined. In September, 1845, the Loehe men met at Cleveland, Ohio, and withdrew from the Ohio Synod. At the same time they sent a delegation, headed by Dr. Sihler, to the "Saxons" in St. Louis for the purpose of discussing closer affiliation. Walther outlined a constitution which the Loehe people declared satisfactory. In July, 1846, representatives of both sides convened at Fort Wayne, Ind. Here the constitution was again discussed, and a resolution calling for the first convention of a synod was adopted.

Formal organization of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States, was effected April 26, 1847, in St. Paul's Church, Chicago. There were present seventeen pastors, one professor, one candidate for the ministry, one student of theology, and four lay delegates. Four other pastors, who were unable to be present, wrote letters indicating their desire to be included in the synod. Officers elected were: President, Rev. C. F. W. Walther; vice president, Rev. W. Sihler, Ph. D.; secretary, Rev. F. W. Hussmann; treasurer, Mr. F. W. Barthel. Certain publications were authorized, including the *Lutheraner* as the synod's paper. It was proposed that the synod take over the Altenburg school and the seminary at Fort Wayne which the Loehe group had founded for the education of students sent from Germany. A traveling missionary was appointed, acquisition of the Indian Mission in Michigan was proposed, and investigation into foreign mission possibilities was authorized. In this fashion the synod set out to do a thorough, energetic task.

The constitution adopted stated, first of all, the purpose of the synod as suggested by the history of the Church, the requirements of Lutheran faith, and the needs of the day. Membership in the synod is limited to those who profess: Acceptance of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the written Word of God and the only rule and norm of faith and of practice; Acceptance of all the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as a true and correct statement and exposition of the Word of God, to wit, the three Ecumenical Creeds (the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed), the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, the Large Catechism of Luther, the Small Catechism of Luther, and the Formula of Concord. All sorts of unionism or fellowship with others who are not strict Lutherans is renounced. Christian day schools are provided for, as well as doctrinally pure agenda, hymn books and catechisms. In the matter of polity, a congregational form is provided for in the constitution. The synod, in its relation to the individual congregations, is merely an advisory body; its resolutions have no binding effect until adopted by the congregation as not contrary to the Word of God and suited to its condition.

11. The Influence of Walther

Walther's eminence, especially at the founding of the Missouri Synod, is very apparent. Says Professor L. Fuerbringer: "All the factors, namely, Saxons, Loehe and Wyneken, must be emphasized. I am far from underestimating the merit of Wyneken and Loehe. Wyneken, to be sure, was the first on the ground, but was isolated. Moreover, he was not especially gifted as an organizer. He was a missionary. The historian must not overlook or underestimate the founding of *Der Lutheraner*. Its first number was published when Loehe's followers were still in the Ohio and Michigan Synods (Sept. 7, 1844). Wyneken, upon receiving this number, exclaimed: 'Thank God, there are still real Lutherans in the country.'"

Sihler, in his autobiography, comments as follows: "It was a great joy to me when the first number of the *Lutheraner* was published in 1844, and after receiving subsequent numbers, I did not hesitate to commend it to my congregation and

to circulate them. Wyneken, too, was highly elated; both of us hoped for the sound enlivening and strengthening of our Church from the Saxon brethren, for we both readily saw that greater clearness and precision of doctrinal teaching than we had must be present with them."

The prominence of Walther can be discerned throughout the development of the Missouri Synod. Spaeth gives a correct estimate of his talents when he says: "Continued doctrinal discussions at synods and conferences, yes, even at the congregational meetings, regular parish visitations, careful establishment of parochial schools, coöperated, not only toward the creation of a common synodical spirit, but also toward its powerful propagation in new territory. Walther's wise and steady leadership had a magnetic effect, conquering, winning and assimilating antagonistic elements."

More than most other men in the history of the Church, Walther knew how to impress his mind upon his followers. The imposing unity of the Missouri Synod, together with its size—for it soon grew to be the largest Lutheran Synod—exerted a mighty influence everywhere, and especially in the Eastern synods strengthened the confessional consciousness which had already awakened from its slumber.

12. The Break with Loehe and the Iowa Synod

Soon after the founding of the Missouri Synod, disagreement with Loehe became apparent. Loehe considered the organization too democratic. The experiences of his followers among unruly congregations in Ohio and Indiana filled him with fear lest unworthy laymen might gain control by means of a majority of votes on all questions. Walther's theory of the ministerial office, derived from the principle of the universal priesthood, was criticised by him. Finally, upon the urgent request of the Franconian congregations, it was decided that President Wyneken and Professor Walther should visit Loehe in Germany (1857), to settle these differences by a personal interview. Walther stated to Loehe that he was perfectly satisfied with his explanations; he hoped, however, to convince his protagonist by his book on the church and the ministry, then being published. Loehe, to show his agreement in essentials, decided to establish a teachers' training school at Saginaw by sending Grossman and a number of

students in the interest of the synod. But he continued to disagree with Walther's doctrine of the ministry, even after the publication of Walther's book, and thus at length the rupture took place. In 1853, after a conference in Michigan, Wyneken, then president of the synod, wrote to Loehe asking him to give up his work at Saginaw. As harmonious co-operation had become impossible, Loehe was forced to seek for his followers a new field of work. Only two of his missionaries, Grossmann and Deindoerfer, remained loyal to him. They, with some of their people, migrated to Iowa and formed the Iowa Synod. In later years there were attempts made to settle the differences between the two synods, beginning with the colloquy held at Milwaukee in 1867. But in the doctrinal controversies in which Missouri was involved, Iowa was found among the opponents of Missouri, especially on the subject of "Open Questions."

13. Relations to Other Synods

The Buffalo Synod had a point of contact in the fact that Pastor T. J. Brohm of Missouri was called to serve one of the New York congregations. Both synods held strictly to the Lutheran Confessions. But Grabau, in a pastoral letter to congregations in his synod, not only warned against uncertified pastors, but advocated a strict doctrine of the ministry. Missouri's dissent in this view provoked a controversy that lasted for many years. Of this controversy we shall speak in the following chapter. When differences within his own synod arose, Grabau resorted to mass excommunication. The discord was accentuated when Missouri pastors took charge of discontented Buffalo congregations. After the split in the Buffalo Synod in 1866, eleven of the Buffalo Synod pastors joined the Missouri Synod.

The General Council was formed in the hope of uniting all conservative Lutheran Synods in this country, and to the preliminary meeting at Reading, Pa., the Missouri Synod was also invited. Missouri's representative, Rev. J. A. F. W. Mueller, presented the written views of Walther and Sihler who advised that an organization should not immediately be effected, but that free conferences should be arranged for the purpose of ascertaining points of agreement and difference among the various synods. The reply of the convention was

that it would gladly set aside a time at a future convention for a free conference with representatives of the Missouri Synod. This was not satisfactory to the members of the Missouri Synod. They preferred free, unofficial conferences, not held in connection with any synodical or general convention. In fact, Missouri did not want to deal with the General Council as such, but simply with members of the synods in the Council. To this the General Council would not agree and the correspondence ceased.

In this connection should be noted the loss of several General Council congregations belonging to the New York Ministerium. Several pastors and congregations had protested against the authority of the Ministerium as applied in local congregational matters. These pastors found an ally in J. H. Sieker, who had become pastor of St. Matthew's Church in New York (the oldest congregation in America) without becoming a member of the Ministerium. Finally, these pastors and their congregations, together with St. Matthew's, withdrew from the New York Ministerium and joined the Missouri Synod (1883-86).

The Ohio Synod came into relationship with Missouri in the free conferences of 1855-58. As a result Ohio took a definite stand against unionism and anti-christian secret societies. These matters prevented Ohio from joining the General Council because of the lack of agreement over the "Four Points." Doctrinal and practical harmony existed between Missouri and Ohio until the predestination controversy and Ohio's withdrawal from the Synodical Conference in 1881. In this controversy Ohio gained a few pastors from Missouri.

The Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod for a time sent her theological students to Concordia Seminary in St. Louis and maintained a professorship there. The conservative doctrinal position of the Norwegian Synod was due, in part at least, to the influence of Missouri. The membership of the Norwegian Synod in the Synodical Conference continued until the turmoil caused by the predestination controversy.

14. The Organization of the Synodical Conference

The Missouri Synod had declined membership in the General Council, from which Ohio and Wisconsin withdrew

and Minnesota seemed ready to do likewise. All of them wanted a declaration on the subject of church-fellowship, which the General Council was not prepared to give. These synods, therefore, with Ohio taking the initiative, opened negotiations looking toward federation. In 1871 a convention took place at Chicago, to which Missouri, Wisconsin, Ohio, and the Norwegian Synod sent delegates. At this time the organization of a Synodical Conference was suggested. At a conference at Fort Wayne later the same year, to which the Minnesota and Illinois Synods sent delegates also, the matter was further discussed, culminating in the plan for the formation of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America. Formal organization occurred at Milwaukee, Wis., July 10-16, 1872. Rev. C. F. W. Walther was elected the first president.

The Synodical Conference suffered losses during the predestination controversy. The Ohio Synod withdrew in 1881, though a minority in that synod withdrew from it, organized themselves as the Concordia Synod of Pennsylvania and Other States, and as such retained membership in the Synodical Conference until absorbed by the Missouri Synod in 1888. In an effort to prevent a split in their body, the Norwegian Synod withdrew from the Conference in 1883, though it maintained fraternal relations until the adoption of the Madison Theses of union in 1912. In 1888 the English Evangelical Lutheran Conference of Missouri and Other States affiliated with the Synodical Conference. This English group, which changed its name from "Conference" to "Synod" in 1891, became an English District of the Missouri Synod in 1911. The Michigan Synod united with the Synodical conference in 1892, only to suffer a rupture four years later, in which only the minority, constituting the District of Michigan, continued their adherence to the Conference. When the rupture was healed in 1909, the Michigan Synod returned to the Conference. Other additions were the Nebraska District Synod in 1906, the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Synod in 1908, and in 1920 the Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church—a minority from the old Norwegian Synod refusing to enter the Norwegian Lutheran merger in 1917. The Illinois Synod, one of the three bodies growing out of the Synod of

the West, merged with the Illinois District of the Missouri Synod and thus lost its identity.

The Synodical Conference holds a very strict confessional position and maintains strict discipline in this respect. "Its purpose is: to express and confess the unity of the spirit existing in the constituent synods; to give mutual aid and assistance towards the strengthening of their faith and confession; to promote, and preserve over and against all disturbances, the unity in doctrine and practice; to bring about concerted action in the common cause; to work towards the geographical delimitation of the synods wherever feasible; to unite all Lutheran synods of America into one orthodox American Lutheran Church."

The Conference is merely an advisory body, being concerned chiefly with questions of doctrine. Delegates are an equal number of pastors and laymen. Conventions were held annually 1872-79, and biennially since 1882. At first overwhelmingly German, it is now about sixty per cent English. Through the agency of the Conference the synods join in the support of negro missions in America.

15. Growth of the Missouri Synod

The latter part of the nineteenth century witnessed an enormous German immigration to this country. The Missouri Synod by virtue of its German character and staunch position was able to take advantage of this Teuton flood. In this it had the aid of influential men in Germany who sent pastors and students to care for the Lutheran multitudes. Thus the Missouri Synod came to be by far the largest Synod in America. It has already been noted that the Missouri Synod absorbed the Illinois Synod and the Concordia Synod of Pennsylvania. Part of the German Evangelical Synod of Indianapolis, which was a division of the Synod of the West, also united with the Missouri Synod. The Alpha Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Freedmen in America, organized in 1889, united with the Missouri Synod and became the negro mission of the Synodical Conference.

16. Missions in North America

Beginning with the work of Wyneken, missionary development of the home field proceeded through the interest of

pioneer pastors impressed by the needs of neighboring communities. Occasionally the synod sent pastors on trips of exploration which usually resulted in the organization of congregations. The office of *Besucher* or itinerant missionary as established by the synod aided in the cultivation of the rich western field. The intensity with which this home mission work was done is attested by the remarkable growth of the synod. Each of the districts of the synod is now responsible for work in its territory. About eight hundred thousand dollars is expended annually throughout the synod in home mission enterprises.

As early as 1869 immigrant mission work was conducted in New York and Baltimore. The workers at the port attempted to establish a contact between the immigrant and the pastor at their destination. In the modern flow of immigration to Western Canada, the synod finds another field for work. In connection with the work at the ports, Seamen's Missions are conducted also.

Mission work among Jews was begun in New York in 1883, in St. Louis in 1930, and in Chicago in 1931. The ministry to deaf-mutes, begun in 1873, has grown to considerable proportions, extending over the whole nation. Similar active interest in the blind began in 1927. Mention also must be made of city missions in metropolitan centers, of the Lutheran Hour radio broadcast supported by the Walther League and the Lutheran Laymen's League, and of pastors ministering to students at secular colleges and universities. In Madison, Wis., a university church has been erected.

The American Indian's need of the Gospel was recognized by Loehe and his colonists in Michigan. The Franconian settlements were made near Indian villages, not only to serve as bases for missionaries, but also to be practical examples of Christian communities for the Indians. The missionary work of E. R. Baierlein was outstanding. But in later years, the advancing frontier, government policies, and the corruptions of civilization nullified the good done and put an end to the work. The mission among the Chippewa Indians in Minnesota had a similar history and fate. Permanent work, begun in 1898, has been conducted among the Stockbridge Indians in Wisconsin, where church and school buildings have been erected, a native Indian, a St. Louis graduate, ordained, and sub-

stantial work carried on. Other places of ministry to the Indians are in Nevada, Kansas, California and Washington.

Negro missions began in 1877 through the interest of the Synodical Conference. The first Lutheran congregation of colored people was organized by Rev. F. Berg at Little Rock, Ark. Another was founded in 1880 in New Orleans, where Rev. Nils J. Bakke of the Norwegian Synod labored for many years. When the four colored pastors of the Alpha Synod felt unequal to their great task and appealed to the Synodical Conference for help, Missionary Bakke was sent to their assistance in North Carolina in 1891. Both there and in Alabama mission work has been fruitful. Missions have been established in a number of northern cities also.

Though the Missouri Synod is German in its origin, it ministers to many other national groups in America. Included in its membership are congregations of Letts or Latvians, Lithuanians, Esthonians, Finns, Poles, Slovaks, Italians, Mexicans in Texas, Persians, and French (Alsations). A close relationship has existed between the Missouri Synod and the Finnish National Lutheran Church of America, with a possibility of the union of the two bodies.

17. Foreign Missions

Mission work in India began with the transfer to the Missouri Synod of two men, Theodore Naether and Franz J. Mohn, who had been dismissed by the Leipzig Mission. They returned to India in 1895 and 1896, preaching in the Salem District of the Madras Presidency. The work of these men, aided by many others who followed them, prospered greatly. During the World War the work was considerably hindered because some of the missionaries were German citizens. But since the War there has been new impetus and growth. Medical work and a hospital are part of the mission.

The China Mission owes its origin to E. L. Arndt of Concordia College, St. Paul, who organized the China Mission Society in 1912 and became its first missionary. The synod took over the mission in 1917. The mission, located in the Hupeh and Szechwan provinces, has made a steady growth. The Australian Synod, the Joint Synod of Wisconsin and the Norwegian Synod of the American Lutheran Church share in the support of the work.

In South America since the beginning of the century there have been representatives of the Missouri Synod serving, for the most part, German colonists there in the German, Portuguese and Spanish languages. Mission stations are located in Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay. The synod conducts missions also in Cuba, the Isle of Pines, and Mexico.

18. Missouri's Influence in Europe and the Antipodes

Beginning in the seventies, there was in Germany a Free Church movement away from the state church. The movement was characterized by strict Lutheran views. Missouri Synod pastors in some cases returned to Germany to give support to the movement, and to aid in the organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church of Saxony. Like-minded groups in Alsace, Denmark, Esthonia and Finland associated themselves with the Saxon Church. In some cases they sent their students to St. Louis for theological training. Pastors of the Missouri Synod have gone to serve congregations in these countries, and in some sections the synod still supports workers. In England the Missouri Synod maintains two German congregations; a congregation in Czecho-Slovakia is under the synod's care also.

Australia received a substantial German immigration because of the hindrances placed on Lutherans by the Prussian State Church. Migration began in 1838. Pastors were supplied from Neuendettelsau and Hermannsburg. In the course of time the Lutherans increased in number, being grouped in three synods. The publications of the Missouri Synod made their influence felt. Two of the synods united in 1910, and this union merged with the third synod in 1920 to form the Evangelical Lutheran Synod in Australia which is affiliated with the Synodical Conference. A small group of Lutherans in New Zealand, ministered to by pastors of the Missouri Synod, constitutes a district of the Australian Synod.

19. Educational Institutions

The work of the training school in the log house at Altenburg was taken over by the synod in 1849 and the following year established in St. Louis in a new building and with the new name "Concordia" in memory of the Book of Concord. The synod so concentrated its interest in this institution that

Concordia Seminary has become the largest Protestant divinity school in the United States with a splendid equipment. The synod also maintains a practical seminary at Springfield, Ill. This school, first founded at Fort Wayne under Loehe's advice, and later transferred to St. Louis, has been located at Springfield since 1875. Seminaries abroad are located at Port Alegre, Brazil, Berlin, Germany, Nagercoil, India, and Hankow, China.

Because of the synod's insistence on parochial schools, two teachers' colleges are maintained, one at River Forest, Ill., and the other at Seward, Nebr. The synod supports fourteen institutions of junior college or academy rank in America, those at St. Paul and Milwaukee being the largest; Immanuel Lutheran College, Greensboro, N. C., and Alabama Luther College, Selma, Ala., are colored institutions. The Lutheran University Association, an organization within the synod, controls Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Ind. Luther Institute, Fort Wayne, Luther Institute, Chicago, Lutheran High School, Milwaukee, and Bethany Lutheran College, Mankato, Minn., are operated by synodical societies.

20. Institutions of Mercy

The charitable work of the Missouri Synod began at an early date and has had a great development in recent years. We must content ourselves here simply with an enumeration of the institutions: eighteen general hospitals, the first being at St. Louis in 1858; three special hospitals; nine orphanages; ten home finding societies; eight homes for the aged; a home for feeble-minded and epileptics; a deaf-mute institute; three deaconess motherhouses; and eleven hospices. The Lutheran Associated Charities Association, founded within the Synodical Conference, represents the various charitable agencies. A General Board of Support gives aid to incapacitated pastors; for this work a Three Million Dollar Fund was raised recently by the Lutheran Laymen's League. In the distress in Europe following the World War, the Board for Relief in Europe sent abroad over one million three hundred thousand dollars and three million pounds of supplies.

21. Other Agencies

Mention must be made of the Concordia Publishing House, founded in 1869, which has been a great support to the synod.

Among its publications are *Der Lutheraner*, *Concordia Theological Monthly*, and *Lutheran Witness*. The Walther League is an international association of young people's societies, the name being chosen in honor of Dr. C. F. W. Walther. The Lutheran Laymen's League has not only been of great financial assistance to the synod, but operates radio station KFUD at the St. Louis seminary. The American Lutheran Publicity Bureau, organized in 1914 in New York, seeks to make the Lutheran Church known by proper publicity methods.

Biographical Notes

Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther, D. D. The history of the founder of the Missouri Synod has been touched upon so frequently in this chapter that we need to add only a few facts. It is especially important to mention his writings. Besides his *Die Stimme der Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt* (1852), he published *Die rechte Gestalt einer vom Staat unabhaengig evangelisch-lutherischen Ortsgemeinde* (1863), a much-used volume on pastoral theology (*Pastorale*), sermons on the Gospels of the year (1871), and another volume of sermons entitled *Brosamen* (1876). Noteworthy, because characteristic of his theology centering in *sola gratia*, are the thirty-nine evening lectures before his students (stenographically reported), on the *Rechte Unterscheidung von Gesetz und Evangelium*. In 1878 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Capital University, Columbus, Ohio. At synodical gatherings Walther generally acted as essayist. As a leader in debate he was unexcelled. His last lectures were delivered at the meeting of the Western District of the Missouri Synod at St. Louis in 1886. Here Walther realized that his vitality was ebbing out and that his days were numbered. He died May 7, 1887.

F. C. D. Wyneken, born May 13, 1810, educated at Goettingen and Halle. In addition to the account already given of him we note that he came to St. Louis in 1850, being president of the synod from that date until 1864. He became also official visitor to all congregations. In this latter position his rare gifts as adviser of ministers and congregations were very apparent. In 1864, because of infirmities, he relinquished the presidency, accepting a parish in Cleveland, Ohio, where he was active until 1875, when he retired. His death occurred at San Francisco, California, May 4, 1876.

Wilhelm Sihler, Ph. D., born November 2, 1801, received a classical education, chose a military career, and in 1823 at-

tended the military academy at Berlin, where he was a classmate of von Moltke. Weary of the military life, he entered the University of Berlin in 1826 to attend lecture courses on philology, philosophy and theology. After occupying a number of positions as teacher, he experienced genuine conversion, which resulted in his becoming a thorough student of the Bible and the Confessions. Thus engaged, he was roused by Wyneken's call for missionaries. He came under the influence of Loehe, who sent him to America. Arriving in 1843, he took charge of the congregation at Pomeroy, Ohio. in 1845 he was made successor to Wyneken at Fort Wayne, Indiana, and remained there until his death, which occurred October 27, 1885. During the years of the founding of the Missouri Synod he became a leader of the Loehe party. For fifteen years he served as professor in the theological department of the college founded by Loehe at Fort Wayne. He was an able preacher and a prolific writer, having published several volumes of sermons, an autobiography, and numerous articles. Walther, Wyneken and Sihler are the three great names in the founding of the Missouri Synod.

Professor F. A. Craemer, born May 26, 1812, in Franconia, studied theology and philosophy at Erlangen, became tutor in England, arrived in America in 1845, and was pastor of a Michigan congregation founded by Loehe. He organized the first Franconian colony, which was called *Frankenmuth*. He was engaged in this work for five years, and was also active for a time among the Indians, and then was called to the professorship of theology in the seminary at Ft. Wayne. This position he held until his death, which took place May 3, 1891. He moved with the seminary when it was transferred to St. Louis in 1861, and thence to Springfield, Ill., in 1875.

Pastor O. Fuerbringer, born June 3, 1810, studied theology in company with Walther at Leipzig, and was also a member of the famous Bible circle which has been mentioned. With Saxon immigrants he came to America in 1839, took part in the founding of Concordia College in Perry County, Mo., and also of the Missouri Synod itself. He served congregations at Elkhorn Prairie, Ill. (1840), at Freistadt, Wis. (1851), and Frankenmuth, Mich. (1858). For twenty-five years he was president of the Northern District of the Missouri Synod, and, in the words of Graebner, "was the profoundest thinker among the fathers of the Missouri Synod." He died in 1892.

Professor A. L. Graebner, D. D., was born at Frankentrost, Mich., July 10, 1849, and studied in Concordia College at Fort Wayne and the Concordia Seminary at St. Louis. From 1872 to 1875 he was teacher in the Lutheran High School at St. Louis;

from 1875 to 1878 professor at the Northwestern College of the Wisconsin Synod at Watertown, Wis.; from 1878 to 1887 theological professor at the seminary of this synod in Milwaukee; from 1887 until his death professor in the Concordia Seminary at St. Louis. He died December 7, 1904. His specialty was church history; his principal literary product was a history of the Lutheran Church in America up to the founding of the General Synod; he also published a book on Martin Luther, a work on Doctrinal Theology, the life of J. S. Bach, and many articles in various magazines. Graebner was a profound scholar and a particularly gifted historian. His early death, viewed from the human standpoint, was a great loss to the Lutheran Church.

Professor G. C. Stoeckhardt, D. D., born in Chemnitz, Saxony, February 17, 1842, was educated at Meissen (Fuerstenschule) from 1857 to 1862, and studied theology at Erlangen and Leipzig (1862-66). He was teacher in the girls' school of Tharandt, Saxony; assistant preacher of the German Lutheran congregation of Paris (1870); chaplain in the Franco-German war; licentiate of Old and New Testament Exegesis at Erlangen (1871); religious instructor in the gymnasium in that city, and pastor at Plaunitz, Saxony. In 1876 he left the State Church and became pastor of the Free Church congregation of Plaunitz. In 1878 he came to America, served as pastor in St. Louis from 1878 to 1887 and as lecturer on exegesis in the seminary. In 1887 he was elected regular professor of exegesis. He died January 9, 1913. He was a master of exegesis. His writings are: Commentaries on Romans, Ephesians, First Peter, Isaiah (Chapters I-XII), Biblical History of the Old and New Testaments, Sermons on the Passion of our Lord, and the Gospels for the Advent Season, and various contributions to periodicals.

Professor Franz August Otto Pieper, D. D., born at Carwitz, Pomerania, June 27, 1852, was educated at Northwestern University, Watertown, Wis., and Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. He was ordained in 1875, became pastor of a congregation at Manitowoc, Wis., and in 1878 was appointed the successor of Dr. Walther in the chair of Systematic Theology at St. Louis. From 1899 to 1911 he served as president of the Missouri Synod. He is the author of the following books: *Das Grundbekenntnis der Lutherischen Kirche*, 1880; *Lehre von der Rechtfertigung*, 1889; *Die Evangelisch Lutherische Kirche die wahre sichtbare Kirche auf Erden*, 1890; *Distinctive Doctrines of the Lutheran Church*, 1892; *Das geistliche Leben der Christen*, 1893; *Unsere Stellung in Lehre und Praxis*, 1896; *Lehrstellung der Missouri Synode*, 1897; *Christ's Work*, 1898; *Das Wesen des Christentums*, 1903; *Die Grunddifferenz*, 1904; *Conversion and Election*, 1913; *Zur Einigung*,

1913; *Ich Glaube, darum Rede Ich; Die Lutherische Lehre von der Rechtfertigung*, 1916; *Christliche Dogmatik* (3 vols.) 1917; *Das Fundament des Christlichen Glaubens*, 1925; *Die Kraft des Evangeliums*, 1927; *Die Rechte Weltanschauung*. He died June 3, 1931.

Professor G. F. Bente, D. D., born January 22, 1858, graduated from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1881, ordained 1882. He was pastor in Canada 1882-93, being president of the Canada District 1887-93. He was professor in Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1893-1922. He was also editor of *Lehre und Wehre*. His most important publications were: *Was Steht der Vereinigung der Lutherischen Synoden Amerikas im Wege?*; *Gesetz und Evangelium*; *American Lutheranism* (2 vols.); (with Dau) *Concordia Triglotta*. He died December 15, 1930.

Professor W. H. T. Dau, D. D., born February 8, 1864, educated at Concordia College, Ft. Wayne, and Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. He was ordained 1886. He was president of Concordia College, Conover, N. C., 1882-99, professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1905-1926, president of Valparaiso University 1926-29. He was editor of the *Lutheran Witness*, editor of the English department of the *Homiletic Magazine*, and managing editor of the *Theological Quarterly* and the *Theological Monthly*. He was editor with Bente of the *Concordia Triglotta*. The following are his more important publications: *Luther Examined and Re-examined*, 1917; *The Leipzig Debate of 1519*, 1918; *The Great Renunciation*, 1919; *At the Tribunal of Caesar*, 1921; *He Loved Me*, 1921; *Starcke's "Prayer Book,"* 1921; *Can a Secular State Teach Religion*, 1921; and *Ebenezer*, 1922.

Professor Theodore Graebner, D. D., born November 23, 1876, at Watertown, Wis. He graduated from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in 1897. He was professor at Walther College, St. Louis, 1897-1900, and at Ladies Seminary, Red Wing, Minn., 1900-06. He served a pastorate in Chicago 1907-13, and since 1913 has been professor in Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Besides being editor of the *Lutheran Witness*, he has written voluminously. Among the most important of his publications may be mentioned: *Evolution*; *Dark Ages*; *Lutheran Pioneers*; *Spiritism*; *Prophecy and the War*; *Memorial Stones*; *Letters to a Masonic Friend*; *Treatise on Free Masonry*; *When the Christ-child Comes*; *The Pastor as Student*; *The Story of the Augsburg Confession*; *Handbook for Congregational Officers*; *The Pope and Temporal Power*; *Story of the Catechism*.

Professor Paul E. Kretzmann, Ph. D., D. D., born August 24, 1883. He graduated from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, and

received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Minnesota. He served pastorates 1905-12, was professor at Concordia College, St. Paul, 1912-19, and professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, since 1923. With Dr. Engelder and Dr. Fuerbringer he was editor of the *Concordia Cyclopedia*. Among his many publications must be mentioned: *Popular Commentary of the Bible* (4 vol.); *Christian Art*; *Psychology and the Christian Day-school*; *A Brief History of Education*; *Die Pastoralbriefe*; *Knowing and Doing*; *Handbook for Deaconesses*; *While it is Day*; *The Teaching of Religion*; *Problems of Adolescence and Youth*; *Knowledge unto Salvation*.

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CHAPTER X

DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSIES OF THE MISSOURI SYNOD¹

A. MISSOURI AND BUFFALO

The cause of this struggle was a "Pastoral Letter" written by Grabau, in which pastorless congregations were warned against itinerant preachers, of whom there were many at that time, since they were not "properly called." This letter, written in 1840, together with writings of a later date, explicitly expresses the views of Grabau concerning the Church and the ministry. His ideas were as follows: By the grace of God we have come to this country as a part of the true Church. It is essential that a free Church should not degenerate into a condition of ecclesiastical anarchy through a misinterpretation of the fourteenth article of the Augsburg Confession. It is required of a properly called minister that he should have sufficient training for this office; that he have received the Holy Spirit so that he can successfully use his training; that he be examined and recommended by worthy and experienced ministers; that he be publicly ordained and installed in the congregations which he is to serve. The necessity of a regular call is attested by the words of the Apostles, the example of Christ, and the consideration that the Church should have evidence of the worthy character of the laborers in its service. Men who arbitrarily pose as ministers have no real call, and cannot properly absolve from sin; and when they administer the Lord's Supper, they are merely distributing bread and wine, because Christ will recognize only his institution and not human perversions of his established order.

Grabau's doctrine of the Church is peculiar. He over-emphasizes its visibility. The only holy Christian Church spoken of in the Apostles' Creed is, according to Grabau, the visible congregation of those who have the pure Word and Sacraments. This can be said only of the Lutheran Church, which for that reason is God's true Church. Outside of it

¹ This chapter, up to page 211, is a contribution by the Rev. Prof. Geo. J. Fritschel to the second edition, but abbreviated for the third edition by J. L. Neve.

there are only mobs and sects, but no church. In these masses there are, no doubt, true believers who, according to their inner life, belong to the Lutheran Church; but these would unite with the Lutheran Church, if they would come in contact with it. But none can be assured of salvation unless actually connected with the true Church.

Walther, on the other hand, insisted that the Church is essentially *invisible*, and consists of all the faithful in whatsoever denomination. Fellowship with the Church invisible is necessary to salvation. Walther, stimulated by his opposition to the hierarchical tendencies of Stephan, settled upon Luther's transference theory: "Every Christian is a priest of God and would have the innate right to function as a minister. But as all Christians cannot simultaneously discharge these offices, God has commanded that the many spiritual priests choose one among them as pastor, who, as a representative of the whole congregation, performs the ministerial rites. The ministerial office is, therefore, the spiritual priesthood of all members transferred to an individual. This transfer takes place in the call of the congregation. Ordination is merely an ecclesiastical rite; it is altogether a human institution, and serves only as a public confirmation of the transference by the congregational call."

Further disagreements between Grabau and Missouri were the natural outgrowth of this fundamental difference. According to Grabau, the congregation has merely the right to exhort the sinner; the pastor alone has authority to excommunicate. According to Missouri, the office of the keys belongs to the congregation as such, but is administered by it through the pastor.

B. MISSOURI AND IOWA

The controversy between Missouri and Loehe and the Iowa Synod extends through many years and pertains to quite a number of questions more or less interrelated. Their chronological order was as follows: 1. the Church and the ministerial office (Walther and Loehe); 2. Chiliasm and Antichrist; 3. the Confessions and "open questions"; 4. Sunday; 5. usury; 6. justification; 7. predestination and conversion. Of these we shall discuss only "open questions," the Church and the ministry, Antichrist and Sunday.

1. "Open Questions"

Iowa, from the very beginning, acted according to the principle that in matters of faith it is essential to agree in case church-fellowship is to take place, but that doctrinal points, which are not doctrines of faith, must not affect fellowship of faith and church-fellowship. They must be considered "open questions." By this, not a theory, but a general principle concerning the treatment of differences within the Church in regard to church-fellowship is laid down.

Missouri rejected this distinction, and demanded complete agreement and unity concerning every doctrine taken from the Scriptures. Such unity was declared to be an absolute prerequisite for church-fellowship. One and only one interpretation would be permitted by the Church, lest she prove disloyal to the Word of God by tolerating two interpretations at the same time. The principle that there are such "open questions" was described "as a most dangerous (because a most subtle and most disguised) unionistic poison, driving congregations into the grasp of scepticism and infidelity."

Iowa declared: "By open questions we do not mean such doctrines as concern the foundation of faith, or such as are plainly and unmistakably taught in the Scriptures, but such doctrines as are either not taught at all, or are not decided in a clear and unmistakable manner in the Scriptures and concerning which, therefore, no consensus has developed within the Church. In case a difference of opinion is found in regard to the latter, they do not interfere with consistent churchmanship, as long as these differences do not affect the analogy of faith." (Davenport Theses, 17-19)

The "Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Missouri Synod," issued in 1931 by a synodical committee headed by Dr. Pieper and adopted the following year with unimportant amendments, makes the following declaration:

Those questions in the domain of Christian doctrine may be termed open questions which Scripture answers either not at all or not clearly. Since neither individual nor the Church as a whole are permitted to develop or augment the Christian doctrine, but are rather ordered and commanded by God to continue in the doctrine of the apostles, 2 Thess. 2:15; Acts 2:42, open questions must remain open questions.—Not to be included in the number of open questions are the following: the doctrine of

the Church and the Ministry, of Sunday, of Chiliasm, and of Anti-christ, these doctrines being clearly defined in Scripture.

Because Missouri rejected Iowa's distinction between binding and non-binding doctrines in the confessions, and denied the existence of "open questions" (that is, questions not leading to schism), it is natural that this difference became dominant in the treatment of the various controverted points at that time.

2. The Church and the Ministry

While Walther emphasized the invisibility of the true Church, Loehe maintained that, according to the Augsburg Confession, the Church is the visible assembly of those who have the pure Word and Sacraments, no distinction being made there between the visible and invisible Church. Loehe was also unable to approve the "doctrine of transference," according to which the ministry was merely the exercise of the spiritual priesthood of all believers. He sided with Walther against Grabau in declaring that the office of the ministry was only to feed and lead with the Word and Sacraments, and had no right to set up as ordinances things not expressly commanded in the Word of God. But, according to his views, the ministerial office had not been committed to the spiritual priesthood of individual Christians, but to the Church as a whole. Not every individual Christian can therefore transmit his personal share, but the Church as an entity, must transfer the office instituted by Christ.

Missouri's position as stated in 1931 reads:

Since it is by faith in the Gospel alone that men become members of the Christian Church, and since this faith cannot be seen by men, but is known to God alone, I Kings 8:39; Acts 1:24; II Tim. 2:19, therefore the Christian Church on earth is *invisible*, Luke 17:20, and will remain invisible till Judgment Day, Col. 3:3, 4. In our day some Lutherans speak of two sides of the Church, taking the means of grace to be its "visible side." It is true, the means of grace are necessarily related to the Church, seeing that the Church is created and preserved through them. But the means of grace are not for that reason a part of the Church; for the Church in the proper sense of the word consists only of *believers*, Eph. 2:19, 20; Acts 5:14. Lest we abet the notion that the Christian Church in the proper sense of the term is an external institution, we shall continue to call the means of

grace the "marks" of the Church. Just as wheat is to be found only where it has been sown, so the Church can be found only where the Word of God is in use. . . .

The Original and True Possessors of All Christian Rights and Privileges. — Since the Christians are the Church, it is self-evident that they alone *originally* possess the spiritual gifts and rights which Christ has gained for, and given to, His Church. Thus St. Paul reminds all believers: "All things are yours," I Cor. 3:21, 22, and Christ Himself commits to all believers the keys of the kingdom of heaven, Matt. 16:13-19; 18:17-20; John 20:22, 23, and commissions all believers to preach the Gospel and to administer the Sacraments, Matt. 28:19, 20; I Cor. 11:23-25. Accordingly, we reject all doctrines by which this spiritual power or any part thereof is adjudged as *originally* vested in certain individuals or bodies, such as the Pope, or the bishops, or the order of the ministry, or the secular lords, or councils, or synods, etc. The officers of the Church publicly administer their offices by virtue of delegated powers, conferred on them by the original possessors of such powers, and such administration remains under the supervision of the latter, Col. 4:17. Naturally all Christians have also the right and the duty to judge and decide matters of doctrine, not according to their own notions, of course, but according to the Word of God, I John 4:1; I Peter 4:11.

3. The Antichrist

Being strictly traditional in its position, Missouri placed great emphasis on the assertion of Luther and other dogmatists that the Pope is *the Antichrist*. Since Article IV of the second part of the Smalcald Articles declares that the Roman Pope is the Antichrist predicted in II Thess. 2, in whom all such prophecies find their fulfillment, this statement was declared to be a doctrine from which no consistent Lutheran can deviate. Whoever refused to confess this or denied it had abandoned the Lutheran confessions.

Iowa's spokesmen replied to this as follows: 1) The views of Luther on this point must be considered together with his other eschatological ideas. He confidently expected the end of the world before the close of the sixteenth century. Such a view naturally involved the fulfillment of this prophecy in the person of the Pope. 2) Neither Luther nor the Confessions declare that the Scriptures say, "The Pope is the Antichrist," but state this as their personal inference from the comparison of history and prophecy. 3) Luther has nowhere treated this

question as a doctrine of faith. 4) That article does not discuss the question: "Who is the Antichrist?" but the question: "What is the papacy?" 5) The sentence passes judgment on the antichristian nature of the papacy, and asserts that the papacy is through and through antichristian; but the eschatological statement, viz., that the Pope is the last Antichrist, cannot be proved from the Scriptures; hence it is merely a human conviction. It was further argued that, according to the Bible, the Antichrist is to be an individual. To interpret the prophecies in such a manner as to expect the appearance of a particular person as the Antichrist does not conflict with the confessions, providing that which the confessions say about the antichristian nature of the papacy is retained.

Both sides agreed in characterizing the papacy as antichristian, but whether or not in the last days an intensification of the antichristian elements shall be embodied in an individual was a point of difference. Iowa looked upon this difference as an "open question," not necessitating a cessation of ecclesiastical fellowship.

Missouri's position as stated in 1931 reads:

As to the Antichrist we teach that the prophecies of the Holy Scriptures concerning the Antichrist, II Thess. 2:3-12; I John 2:18 have been fulfilled in the Pope of Rome and his dominion. All the features of the Antichrist as drawn in these prophecies, including the most abominable and horrible ones, for example, that the Antichrist "as God sitteth in the temple of God," II Thess. 2:4; that he anathematizes the very heart of the Gospel of Christ, that is, the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins by grace alone, for Christ's sake alone, through faith alone, without any merit or worthiness in man (Rom. 3:20-28; Gal. 2:16); that he recognizes only those as members of the Christian Church who bow to his authority; and that, like a deluge, he had inundated the whole Church with his antichristian doctrines till God revealed him through the Reformation,—these very features are the outstanding characteristics of the Papacy (cf. *Triglot*, p. 515, §§ 39-41; p. 401, § 45; M., pp. 336. 258). Hence we subscribe to the statement of our Confessions that the Pope is "the very Antichrist" (*Triglot*, p. 475, § 10; M., p. 308).

4. The Sunday Controversy

The difference between Iowa and Missouri concerning Sunday became all the more apparent, because in regard to the

doctrine itself there was perfect and absolute agreement. This question had been strongly argued in Germany, but Missouri and Iowa held exactly the same views. Both declared that, while the seventh day had been set apart in the Old Testament, no such rule applied to the New Testament, in which every day is considered holy. However, since the days of the apostles, and in connection with Easter and Whitsunday, the Church has made use of Sunday as a time for religious instruction and devotion. Thus Sunday has become a Christian Holy Day. Gerhard, on the other hand (and a number of others), had gone a step further, and had taught that the Church had to set apart one day in seven, because God had rested one day in seven. This assertion was not presented as an express doctrine of the Scriptures, but as an inference from the order of creation. Both Iowa and Missouri held to Luther's view as against Gerhard's, but they differed in their ecclesiastical treatment of Gerhard's error. Missouri wanted the disciples of Gerhard excluded from church-fellowship; Iowa declared that it could tolerate them.

We have already quoted from the 1931 "Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Missouri Synod" declaring that among open questions must not be included the doctrine of Sunday. The position, to which adherence is required, is stated thus:

We teach that in the New Testament God has abrogated the Sabbath and all the holy-days prescribed for the Church of the Old Covenant, so that neither "the keeping of the Sabbath nor of any other day" nor the observance of at least one specific day of the seven days of the week is ordained or commanded by God, Col. 2:16; Rom. 14:5 (*Triglot*, p. 91, §§ 51-60; M., p. 66).

The observance of Sunday and other church festivals is an ordinance of the Church, made by virtue of Christian liberty (*Triglot*, p. 91, §§ 51-53, 60; M., p. 66; *Triglot*, p. 603, §§ 83, 85, 89; M., p. 401). Hence Christians should not regard such ordinances as ordained by God and binding upon the conscience, Col. 2:16; Gal. 4:10. However, for the sake of Christian love and peace they should willingly observe them, Rom. 14:13; I Cor. 14:40 (*Triglot*, p. 91, §§ 53-56; M., p. 67).

C. THE CONTROVERSY CONCERNING PREDESTINATION

1. Origin of the Controversy

It is an undecided question just at what time Walther adopted the theory of predestination which he later propounded. But it is certain that he arrived at his conclusions, not through the study of the Scriptures, but rather through the study of the old dogmaticians. This he himself admitted later. The matter was not presented publicly until in 1868, when, at the meeting of the Wisconsin District, Pastor Huegli set forth Walther's doctrine. On that occasion Walther expressed himself much more strongly than is indicated in the minutes of the synod. The slight objections referred to in the minutes were made by Professor F. A. Schmidt, the Norwegian, a colleague of Walther at St. Louis. Professor S. Fritschel, passing through the city, attended the meeting, and reported the details of this doctrinal discussion to his brother, who continually observed the development. In a note added to the articles touching the question of usury he warned against deviation from the Lutheran Doctrine. *Lehre und Wehre* soon published a series of articles reiterating those selfsame teachings. This caused Professor Gottfried Fritschel to write those articles in *Brobst's Monatshefte*, of which his brother said that they (in 1872) contained everything which in later discussions has been brought forth in arguments. *Lehre und Wehre* and also *Brobst's Monatshefte* replied. Professor F. W. Stelhorn, at this time professor of Missouri (signing himself "Interpres"), in the *Monatshefte* attacked the admissibility of the term "Selbstentscheidung" (free decision) in a gentlemanly manner. A Missouri minister (Huegli) and a certain "Gottlieb Gnadenkind" (Walther?) also entered the lists. Walther, in *Lehre und Wehre*, expressly declared his agreement with the old dogmaticians, and asserted the scripturalness of their position. He merely characterized as ambiguous the term *intuitu fidei* (*Lehre und Wehre*, May, 1872).

After this concession of Walther, there followed a period of quiet. But in 1877, at the meeting of the Western District, Walther reiterated his construction of the dogma. In various places doubts arose as to this new construction. One of the first to put his objections on record was the Norwegian, Professor Asperheim, who had for some time questioned Mis-

souri's position, and suspected, in the rejection of the phrase *intuitu fidei*, an un-Lutheran tendency (*Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1878). Being attacked for his stand by his colleague, Professor F. A. Schmidt (at that time at Madison, Wis.), he handed in his resignation. But Schmidt soon afterwards realized from the minutes of 1877 that the deviation from the traditional doctrine was more serious than he had thought. President Strasen induced him personally to approach his former colleague (January, 1879). Private discussions of the subject took place in other parts of the synod. Schmidt, by request, summed up his views in a series of theses. Pastor H. A. Allwardt, too, addressed Walther personally. At the annual meeting of the Synodical Conference at Columbus, Ohio, Schmidt and Walther argued privately without reaching any conclusion. It was agreed that the discussions should be resumed the following year, and that, meanwhile, Schmidt should not bring the difference to public notice. However, at the meeting of the Western District (1879) Walther publicly attacked "certain people" of his own synod who had not approved his doctrines. He discussed their arguments, and it soon became an open secret that he referred to Allwardt and Schmidt. Now Schmidt, too, broke silence, and sounded an alarm by publishing a monthly, *Altes und Neues*, January, 1880, for the express purpose of opposing Walther's new construction. The sources made accessible by it are certainly of permanent value.

Instantly universal attention was drawn to the controversy between Schmidt and Walther. Within the Norwegian Synod, whose ministers had been trained largely by Schmidt and Walther, a division took place. In almost every Norwegian congregation the issue was taken up and vigorously debated. The president of the Synodical Conference refused to call a meeting, but ordered a conference of all the faculties of the Synodical Conference at Milwaukee (January 5-10, 1881), without attaining any results. The Missouri Synod held a general ministerial conference at Chicago (September 29-October 5), and a second one during the following year at Fort Wayne, Ind. Walther here was chiefly opposed by Allwardt and F. W. Stelhorn (at that time professor at Fort Wayne College). The Missouri delegates (1881), after a brief discussion, adopted the thirteen theses of Walther, only five

voting against them. This caused Walther's opponents to call a meeting at Blue Island, Ill., where they organized a separate conference and left the Missouri Synod. They united with Ohio as the Northwestern District. The Minnesota and Wisconsin Synods took sides with Missouri, but lost several ministers to Ohio. Ohio separated from Missouri at its next convention (1881), because the Missouri delegates had received instructions not to unite in a session with Stellanor and Loy.

The Norwegians meanwhile sent Professor F. A. Schmidt as a delegate to the convention in Chicago, 1882, but the Missouri representatives protested against his admission at the organization of the convention, unless he would repent of having participated in meetings of congregations which had left these synods. Scenes were enacted at this conference over which the synod afterwards expressed regret. Schmidt was not admitted, nor was he afforded any opportunity to justify his position. The Norwegian Synod, hoping to reach unity within its own circle, left the Synodical Conference. But after a number of years, Schmidt's followers withdrew, starting an independent organization and establishing their own seminary. Afterwards negotiations were entered into between different Norwegian synods, which together formed the United Norwegian Synod (see chapter on the Norwegians).

Among the chief opponents of the "new Missouri doctrine," besides Schmidt, were the representatives of Ohio—Stellanor, Loy, Allwardt and Ernst. At the convention at Wheeling, W. Va., in 1881, this synod declared its allegiance to the old Lutheran doctrine of the *intuitu fidei*, and, entering a protest against Missouri's heresy, withdrew from the Synodical Conference. Iowa also declared against Missouri in the theses of St. Sebald (1881, see first edition of Neve, p. 177-181) and in the resolutions of Dubuque (1882). The faculty of Philadelphia, too, although with some hesitation, took issue with Missouri. The faculty of Rostock, having been requested by the congregation of Columbus, Wis., to give an opinion, expressed its disapproval of Walther's theory. This caused a controversy between Professor A. Graebner and Dr. Dieckhoff. As was natural, the periodicals (1880-90) published a number of articles on this subject, and quite a literature in the form of brochures has also arisen.

In the early nineties the battle somewhat subsided, but from 1903 to 1907 a series of intersynodical conferences (Watertown, Milwaukee, Detroit, Fort Wayne) were arranged, and the issue was revived. The first phase of the controversy centered in the question, "What is the Lutheran doctrine of predestination?" The second period revolved around the question, "What do the Scriptures teach concerning predestination?" Finally the Missourians terminated the discussion. Meanwhile the Norwegians in their discussion of the subject had arrived at some results. They reached common ground, first concerning conversion and afterwards concerning predestination, based upon the catechism of Pontoppidan which was revered by the laity almost as a symbol. Dr. F. Pieper published a brochure on the subject, which was sent to all Lutheran ministers of America. (*Zur Einigung in der Lehre von Bekehrung und Gnadenwahl.*)

After this failure in the efforts at a union, the Iowa Synod in 1913 offered the synods, especially Missouri and Wisconsin, open and general conferences for the discussion of the differences. This new endeavor took shape in a series of free conferences in St. Paul between pastors of Missouri and Wisconsin on the one hand, and Iowa and Ohio, later joined by Buffalo, on the other. They adopted a series of theses on predestination and conversion (the so-called St. Paul Theses) which were subscribed to by several hundred pastors of the synods concerned. These pastors demanded that the synods take up the matter officially. As a result there began in 1917 a colloquy between representatives of the synods. The progress attained was reported to the synods from time to time. In 1929 the so-called "Chicago Theses," a very remarkable and respectable work of twelve years, were ready for adoption. These Chicago Intersynodical Theses will be referred to in following sections.

Meanwhile representatives of Ohio, Iowa, Buffalo and the Norwegian Lutheran Church held a colloquy in Minneapolis in 1925, resulting in the "Minneapolis Theses" which were the basis for the establishing of pulpit and altar fellowship in 1928, and later the formation of the American Lutheran Conference. The Missourians, at their convention in River Forest, June, 1929, approached the Chicago Theses with distrust and rejected them, declaring that further movements

must begin with the *status controversiae* and before that with an examination of the union with the Norwegians. It was admitted, however, that the Chicago Theses show "a certain progress in the presentation of the doctrine on the basis of Scripture and Confession." (Missouri Minutes, 1929, p. 115.)

2. The Points of Difference

In addition to the foregoing report of the history of the controversy, the student will want a brief review of the main points at issue.²

Of the very large literature I refer especially to F. Pieper, "Die Grunddifferenz" (paper read at the intersynodical conference at Watertown, Wis., 1903). By the same author, "Zur Einigung" (occasioned by the Norwegian merger, 1913). By the same author, "Conversion and Election," 1913 (a very exhaustive and general treatment). Published also in German. Many articles in *Lehre und Wehre*, and many pamphlets, all published by the Concordia Publishing House. On the other side: the theses by Gottlieb Fritschel (in appendices to the first edition of this book). F. W. Stellhorn's *Tractatus* and Walther's reply (1881). Next, a book of eight hundred pages, *The Error of Missouri*, 1897, composed of three large discussions by F. W. Stellhorn, F. A. Schmidt, and "several former members of the Missouri Synod," published by E. L. S. Tressel at the Lutheran Book Concern, Columbus, Ohio. Many articles in *Theologische Zeitblätter* and *Theological Magazine*. Geo. J. Fritschel, *Die Schriftlehre von der Gnadenwahl*, 1906.

a. Missourian voices of the time when the conflict began

In May, 1881, Missouri published its first public utterances on the doctrine of predestination, prepared by Walther.³

The opponents of the Missouri Synod declared that these thirteen propositions were, indeed, formulated in such a manner as made it possible for them also to subscribe to them; but that their true meaning became apparent only when they were read in connection with the many predestinarian utterances found in the minutes of the Missouri Synod, and in the monthly periodical *Lehre und Wehre*, edited by the faculty of

² This concluding part of this chapter was prepared for this third edition by Dr. Neve.

³ Printed in the appendix to the first and second, both German and English, editions of this book.

the seminary at St. Louis. We reproduce a few of these utterances.⁴

At the conference at Chicago, Dr. Walther thus described the difference between the general benevolent will of God (compare propositions 1-4) and the special decree electing a certain number of men to salvation (propositions 5-13): "God demands much of man, and man nevertheless does not do it; but when God determines to do anything, He does it, and all the devils in hell cannot prevent it." (Minutes, p. 57.) And again at the same place: "That, according to our confession, the precious saving election of grace helps to keep us in the faith to the end, THIS constitutes the chief comfort" (of predestination). "It consists not in this, that we are saved through faith; for then it would be the same comfort which we find in God's Word, in the Gospel, in Christ's merit, in short, in all the means of salvation and grace. We are inquiring here concerning the SPECIAL comfort which is to be found in THIS doctrine" (p. 56). In a sermon on the Gospel concerning the laborers in the vineyard (Postille, p. 94) Walther says: "God has chosen the elect, not because He knew that they would continue in faith; but because they are chosen, this is the reason why they continue steadfast in the faith. God did not choose them because He knew that they would be saved; but because they are chosen, they will be saved." In the report of the Western District, 1877, p. 24: "Yes, God has from eternity already elected a number of persons to salvation; He has determined that these shall and must be saved; and as certainly as God is God, so certainly they will be saved, and besides them none other." In the same report (p. 43): "Thou art an elect person; if thou shouldest lose faith, thou shalt not lose it to the end, but shalt and must obtain it again." In *Lehre und Wehre* (June 1871), where Luther's book *De servo arbitrio* is recommended to all Lutheran Christians, the following expressions are found: "There God distributes grace and goodness among children; here He employs sternness, anger, wrath and severity against those who have not deserved it." And again (p. 174): "How this can be right, that He condemns those who have not deserved it, is, indeed, incomprehensible now; but we believe it."⁵ Experience proves that

⁴ These also were published in the first edition of this book. While the Missouri of today should not be bound to responsibility for these statements, they do characterize the origin and the spirit of the controversy in that day. The other side also made statements that were difficult or impossible to defend. Among these was a declaration by F. W. Stellhorn that salvation depends also in a certain sense on man's conduct (*Verhalten*)—a statement which neither Iowa nor Ohio accepted and which the author had to qualify.

⁵ Utterances like these, that some who have not deserved it will be condemned, were later retracted. Here the Missourians distinctly differ from the Calvinists. But all the utterances referring to those who are saved are strenuously maintained.

from millions of men God does not remove their resistance to His Word, a resistance which He could as easily remove for them as for the elect, since all by nature lie in equally deep perdition, and the latter are by nature no better than the former. That which must ever remain for us on earth an unfathomable mystery, is the answer to the question, why God did not elect all men to be His children, since He certainly had the power to remove from all sinners even the most willful resistance, as, with the elect, He is actually doing."

b. Brief review of the actual differences

These are here to be expressed in the writer's "Four Points" of the first (p. 128) and second (pp. 354-6) English editions of this book.

First: The opponents of Missouri teach that God's decree of election is none other than the universal counsel of grace revealed in the Gospel: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Missouri, on the contrary, asserts that there are two entirely distinct decrees, between which an analogy is not even to be looked for.⁶

Second: The opponents teach that the conversion of men and their preservation in the faith are the result of the general benevolent will, and not of the decree of election, if the latter word is taken in its narrowest sense; that election, in the foreknowledge of God, presupposes faith; and that God elected *intuitu fidei*. Missouri, on the contrary, maintains that from the general benevolent will there could at best result only a temporary faith; that a steadfast and really saving faith can flow only from election; and that God elects *unto* faith.

Third: Missouri further maintains that the reason why God has not elected all men, or why He has elected some and not others, is an unfathomable mystery; and that therefore it is impossible to harmonize the doctrine of predestination with the universal promises of the Gospel. The opponents, on the other hand, maintain that we have here not a theological, but an anthropological or psychological mystery; that the reason why God has chosen only a few is revealed, and is found in the fact that the majority of men wilfully and persistently resist His Holy Spirit; but why among human beings who are all alike totally corrupt, some thus resist and others do not—this is something we cannot explain.

Fourth: Missouri charges her opponents with holding a synergistic view of conversion, because the latter deny that God

⁶ The two parties would have found themselves nearer together with a statement like this: Predestination is the application of the universal will of grace to the individuals who finally will be saved.

has decided by an absolute decree who and how many "shall and must believe," and thus leaves the decision, whether he will believe or not, to man. The opponents strenuously repel the charge on the ground that it teaches that conversion from the beginning to end is the work of the Holy Spirit, and that man can do nothing to promote it, though he can hinder it. They claim that the contrary doctrine implies an irresistible grace in conversion.

c. A few explanatory notes⁷

(1) In Scripture there are very many passages on the order of John 3:16. They express the doctrine of universal grace: God wants to save all men. But there are also a number of passages which speak of a special election of few. Among these the following are especially clear: II Tim. 1:9; Acts 13:48; Rom. 8:29, 30; Eph. 1:4-6. The Christian mind feels the need of harmonizing these two sets of passages. The Missourian interpreters are painstaking in stressing the (seeming) contradictory character of these two lines of Bible thought. Their advice is to seek no harmony of the two; it would be a species of rationalism to do so. Their opponents (formerly Joint Synod of Ohio and Iowa Synod) want to harmonize.

(2) The fundamental point of difference between the two sides, then, lies in the question as to the relation of the *special will* of God for the salvation of the few that are saved, to God's *general will* pertaining to the many of the called that are lost. Ohio-Iowa charged Missouri with conceiving of the relation of the special will to the general will in the manner of two circles, side by side, touching at one point; they contend that it is a case of the smaller within the larger. It is in reality not two different and conflicting wills, but it is one and the same will; only the one case pertaining to all, and in the other case to the few. Missouri liked to contrast; Ohio-Iowa liked to identify.

(3) The election "in view of faith" (*intuitu fidei*) was introduced by Ohio-Iowa to explain the predestination of the few unto salvation.⁸ Dr. Stelhorn at Milwaukee: "As soon as

⁷ These notes are added in the feeling that the preceding "four points" are in need of elucidation, especially for the students who are not yet trained in the issues and terminology of this controversy.

⁸ In the following I shall draw from debates at the above-mentioned inter-synodical conferences held in Milwaukee and Detroit (1903 and 1904) which I attended and described in the *Lutheran Observer* (Oct. 23, 1903 and June 3, 1904). These speeches will help the student to visualize the differences under discussion.

we speak of the election of individuals we cannot do without the *intuitu fidei*, just as we need this term when we speak of justification which also can take place only where the penitent sinner has faith." The Missourians protested against identifying justification with predestination. Dr. Stellhorn again: "In the special election we have to do with the same will of which we speak when dealing with the general election, only that in the former case we understand God's will in relation to the salvation of individuals, and, therefore, operating in view of faith. If I lose sight of this, then I cannot have the confidence that I also belong to the elect." Dr. Hoenecke, on the side of Missouri: "Of course, if I want to enjoy my election contained in the doctrine of the special decree, I must step in through the door of God's gracious will towards all mankind. We do not want to set aside God's general decree. The expression, that the general decree is the basis of the special, is acceptable when rightly understood, but I do not accept that expression when used to signify that the special and the general decree are one and the same. Scripture speaks, besides the general will of God, of the predestination of individuals in nineteen passages. But God does the same work on the lost that He does on the elect; He makes no difference. Between the general and the special will there is no chasm." At this point Dr. Stellhorn replied: "At the conference in Chicago (1880) we heard a very different language. There the main speaker of the Missouri Synod (Dr. Walther?) said that a wall existed between the two decrees." Dr. Allwardt asked, "Can man be saved by the general decree alone?" Dr. Hoenecke answered, "On the basis of Scripture such a question can neither be asked nor answered, but this we may say: Persevering faith is consequence, fruit, effect of God's eternal election."

Dr. Ernst of the St. Paul Seminary (Ohio) asked, "Is persevering faith the effect of the general or of the special decree?" Dr. Hoenecke: "Such things you cannot ask on the basis of Scripture." In another connection he declared that "in not one of the before mentioned nineteen passages speaking of the special election is there mention of the *intuitu fidei*." Dr. A. Graebner supported him and said, "We Missourians would open our eyes wide if our opponents should show us any Scripture pointing to an election in view of

faith." Dr. Allwardt had read an exegetical treatise on the parable of the wedding garment, and with his friends felt justified in pointing to the king who found one of the guests without the wedding garment for which he was looking. Dr. Graebner: "I can detect here only an *intuitu infidelitatis*" (rejected in view of unbelief). Dr. Ernst: "The *intuitu* simply follows from passages like these: He who believes shall be saved; Without faith it is impossible to please God."

As to the term here under discussion the Missourians felt themselves in an advantage in that they could say without fear of contradiction that the phrase "election in view of faith" is not found in Article XI of the Formula of Concord which deals with election. Dr. Allwardt said in Milwaukee, "It may be admitted that the writers of the Formula of Concord purposely left out the *intuitu fidei*. We also admit that without this term the great comfort contained in God's eternal decree can better be enjoyed. At the time when the Formula of Concord was written that term was not yet needed. The need for it came when later the Calvinists pointed to the fact that the Lutherans also were teaching a special decree. Then our dogmaticians had to make use of this term to explain the difference between a conditioned election for salvation of the Formula of Concord, and the absolute predestination for either salvation or reprobation by Calvin." Dr. Allwardt here referred to the "two modes or forms" for presenting the doctrine of predestination. Professor Geo. J. Fritschel, in his little book, *Schriftlehre*, gave a very explicit delineation of these "Lehrweisen" or "Tropen" in the Formula of Concord and the dogmaticians.

Missouri has objected both to the *intuitu fidei* and to the identifying the two modes of teaching on predestination in the Lutheran Church. Now it is interesting to note that in the "Chicago Theses" of 1928, signed by both the Missourians and the other participants, we find the following statements:

First: That which Scripture calls election has not taken place *intuitu fidei*.⁹

⁹ This statement has a long and very peculiar "give and take" preface which reads as follows: "If the term election or selection in view of persevering faith (*intuitu fidei finalis*) is interpreted in this manner only that God has decreed from eternity to give on Judgment Day—for the sake of the merits of Christ imputed to them—the crown of glory to those whom He Himself by His grace has brought to faith and has kept in faith unto the end, and whom by virtue of His

Second: It is wrong to call the truths just outlined a *second form* of the doctrine of God's election and predestination unto adoption of children and unto salvation, yea, rather we are confronted with two entirely different truths, which cannot be designated by one term without creating boundless confusions.¹⁰

To characterize the situation it must here be added that Pastors W. D. Ahl and M. P. F. Doermann, Ohio members of the joint committee for formulating the report which constitutes these theses, signed with a "special declaration" concerning the *intuitu fidei* and the "two forms" of teaching. They declared themselves in "complete harmony" with discussing the matter from the standpoint of the question, "Whence is my present, past and future salvation?" and with the theses formulated. But they added:

We cannot share the opinion that Scripture and Confessions present the doctrine of election chiefly from this viewpoint and that, accordingly *only* this form of the doctrine is to be authorized in the Church. Furthermore, we cannot say that the so-called second form of the doctrine, which has been used by our church for more than three hundred years, gives expression to another "doctrine"; we regard it another "method of teaching," by which the right doctrine of election can be maintained to its full extent.¹¹

The opponents of Missouri want to have the difference treated as an "open question." It is on this basis and by following chiefly the catechism of Pontoppidan that the Norwegians succeeded in overcoming the difficulty.

(4) Returning now to the main line of development, we note that the controversy soon extended itself from predestination to man's conversion, from Article XI of the Formula of Concord on election, to Article II on free will. Why is it that some are converted and others not? *Cur alii prae aliis?* as

omniscience He knows from eternity;—then such an interpretation expresses, indeed, a truth which is clearly revealed in Scripture, and which, moreover, as far as it concerns the last of the decrees passed by God regarding the elect, can, indeed, be included in election or predestination unto the adoption of children unto salvation. *But neither in Scripture nor in the Confessions is this action called election or predestination unto adoption and salvation.*" [The italics are ours.]

¹⁰Space does not permit us to quote more from the Chicago Theses. The official German text had been printed by the Lutheran Book Concern, Columbus, Ohio. An unofficial English translation has appeared in the *Theologische Quartalschrift* of the Wisconsin Synod, October, 1929.

¹¹The so-called first tropus or predestination in a wider sense answers the question, whence is my salvation?—while the second (*intuitu fidei*) answers the question, who will finally be saved?

Augustine put it. Missouri, pointing to the equal depravity of all, and that God would have the power to break down the most willful resistance, stresses the mystery which now appears as a mystery in God Himself (theological mystery). Ohio-Iowa, distinguishing between the *natural* resistance and a *willful* resistance (*mutwilliges Widerstreben*) and declaring that God cannot overcome the latter, speak of a mystery in man (psychological mystery). The Missourians, in a critical review of the Chicago Theses at their convention at River Forest, Ill., 1929, demanded that the whole distinction between a natural and a willful resistance be abandoned. (Minutes, p. 113)

Note: While Ohio and Iowa have stood together in this conflict, yet this may be noted that originally it was Ohio which fought along the line of the *intuitu fidei*, while Iowa dwelt upon the distinction between a natural and a willful resistance in the divine work of conversion.

(5) In order to eliminate every vestige of synergism, the Missourians, following Dr. F. Pieper, insist that conversion is the act of a moment. Before this moment has arrived man is, to the very last, hostile to grace and spiritually dead. He may experience gracious influences through law and gospel, but he is absolutely passive and suffers these influences against his will. There is no gradual conversion in which man is more and more yielding, not even in powers communicated by the Spirit. Man, up to the moment when God converts him, is purely passive. He is a *subjectum conversionis*. The opponents of Missouri (Dr. Stellhorn especially and the Fritschels) have pointed to the stages in conversion in the cases where it develops as a gradual process in the soul's experience, and they have refused to say that in the closing stages of conversion the yielding to the powers of grace must be absolutely excluded. The Missourian position is recognized with much emphasis in the Chicago Theses (A, 1, 6).¹²

(6) After this whole conflict had been going on for about thirty years, the above-mentioned intersynodical conferences

¹² The situation, then, is as follows: Conversion is a process if all preparatory operations of the Holy Spirit preceding the kindling of faith are included. Conversion is the act of a moment if these operations are excluded. Between these two statements is room for discussion. The "Chicago Theses" refer to Article II of the Formula of Concord on "Free Will."

were held in the hope of reaching an agreement. But at the second of these in Milwaukee, Wis., (1903), it was discovered that there was an additional difference which had not been seen—a disagreement on the analogy of faith and its application in the interpretation of Scripture.

The plan was to discuss at these conferences not so much the Confessions, but rather the Scripture testimony. But the new difficulty prevented all progress, and the following convention at Detroit (1904) devoted itself exclusively to this difference without result. Dr. Allwardt (Ohio) declared at Milwaukee that his side would never agree with an interpretation of any passage of Scripture speaking of *special* election which is not in harmony with the analogy of faith. This statement was decidedly opposed by Professor A. Pieper, Wisconsin Synod, who said, "If in any passage of Scripture there is anything taught that I cannot bring into harmony with the analogy of faith, then I must accept it nevertheless and say, 'Speak, Lord, thy servant heareth.' Therefore, accursed be such a principle that I cannot accept the declarations of Scripture in regard to special election only in so far as I, *with my reason*, can see their harmony with the 'analogy of faith.'" Dr. Allwardt: "Reason does not here come into consideration at all. The analogy of faith is simply the general election of all mankind to salvation. It is contained in a nutshell in John 3:16, and accursed to hell be the principle that I should have the right concerning the special election of single persons to teach something that stands in contradiction to the Gospel announced in John 3:16, or, in other words, to the doctrine of the general election of all mankind."

Dr. F. Pieper, St. Louis: "The analogy of faith is something objective; it is not the speculating theologian's conception of the connection or association of biblical doctrines." At Detroit, Dr. Stelhorn declared in the name of Ohio and Iowa: "The Christian doctrines form for the Christian, especially for the theologian, a recognizable, harmonious whole or system which is composed of doctrines drawn from perfectly clear passages of Holy Scripture. This organic whole is the highest norm of Scriptural interpretation, and stands above even the parallelism or comparison of the passages which treat of the same doctrine." (Cf. second edition of this book, p. 356.) Dr. F. Pieper replied for the Missourians: "Every

doctrine which is not drawn solely from the Scripture passages which expressly treat of that doctrine is not a Scripture doctrine, but a human opinion." He asserted that "it is modern theology to attempt to bring together into a system doctrines—in this case those of the general and those of the special benevolent will of God—the connection of which is not shown by the Word of God itself." He added: "The Scripture passages on election are not dark, but clear." He was asked as to when a passage is clear and when it is dark. His reply was: "Suppose two men stand in the bright sunshine and one of them declares that it is as dark as night! He cannot be helped who cannot distinguish between light and darkness. God, in the Bible, does not speak to us except in clear words."

We have aimed at giving an objective review of this controversy which has now lasted more than fifty years. It cannot be denied that both opponents have been guided by truly religious interests. The Missourians want to safeguard the absolutely paramount efficiency of divine grace to the exclusion of each and every form of synergism from the Christian doctrine of salvation. They see in individual election a very consoling doctrine because according to it salvation does not lie in the hand of man, but it rests in God's almighty hand. Their opponents feel that if this doctrine has such a special emphasis and is not taken to be an organic part of general election, and if foreseen faith is no condition, then earnest souls are driven into despair and the comfort of the Gospel is lost; they will be compelled to doubt and to inquire continually, "Do I, even I, belong to those few especially elected ones?"

In addition to this there was the refusal of the Missourians at all these intersynodical conferences to open and to close the sessions with fraternal prayer before the doctrinal agreement was secured. Dr. F. Pieper said at Detroit, "Fraternal prayer means church-fellowship, and the Word of God has already pointed out with whom we shall enter into such a communion."¹³ To this Dr. C. H. L. Schuette, president

¹³ The question will be asked what Scripture it is that Missouri would quote. J. Grosse, a Missourian, enumerates in his *Unterscheidungslehren* the following passages: Tit. 3:10; Rom. 16:17; Matt. 7:15; II Cor. 6:17, 18; I Tim. 5:22; Eph. 4:3-5; I Cor. 1:10; Exod. 12:43, 48. Compare on this subject and on these passages the writer's critical review *Die Kirchengemeinschaftsfrage und der Schriftbeweis* (48 pages). Separate print of articles in *Lutherischer Zionsbote*, 1918, numbers 21-25.

of Ohio, replied: "I call this a separatistic fanaticism (*Schwaermerei*) to refuse praying together because there is not agreement in every detail of doctrine. We hold the same doctrine of election as Gerhard and Quenstedt, and still Missouri cannot pray with us! In opening our meetings without prayer during these days we have given an offense to the city in which we have met." Dr. F. Pieper answered: "Even what constitutes an offense has been decided in the Word of God. Furthermore, Ohio has withdrawn from church fellowship with Missouri. Nobody would think us serious if now all at once, without unity of doctrine being restored, we should pray together." Dr. Stoeckhardt, professor in the Missouri Seminary at St. Louis, concurred with that statement: "We are unable to do it, not from lack of love, or from contempt for our opponents, but it is against our conscience."¹⁴

The difficulties in the way of agreement are partly in the subject itself, but partly they are in a differing attitude of mind, which has developed in the course of the controversy. On the characterization of the Lutheran synods in America we shall refer to our brochure (57 pages) *Die wichtigsten Unterscheidungsmerkmale der lutherischen Synoden Amerikas* (Lutheran Literary Board, Burlington, Iowa).

¹⁴ See on this subject our report on both the Milwaukee and the Detroit conventions as referred to above. The same articles appeared in German in the *Lutherischer Zionsbote* of the General Synod, October 7, 1903 and June, 1904.

CHAPTER XI

OTHER PARTS OF THE SYNODICAL CONFERENCE*

The Missouri Synod is much the largest constituent of the Synodical Conference. The other parts, namely, the Joint Synod of Wisconsin, the Slovak Synod and the Norwegian Synod, are to be treated in this chapter. The Joint Synod of Wisconsin, being a merged body, requires a narrative of its constituent elements. As to comparative size, it is interesting to note that at this time the Missouri Synod has over forty-six hundred congregations, the Wisconsin Synod over six hundred, the Slovak Synod about sixty, and the Norwegian Synod seventy congregations, though the Slovak Synod surpasses the Norwegian in communing membership.

A. JOINT SYNOD OF WISCONSIN AND OTHER STATES

The Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan and Other States, bringing under one head the then existing three independent synods of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan was formed in St. John's Church, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 11-13, 1892, for the purpose of attaining practical results by means of concerted action. Its constituent parts were related to the general body like districts to a synod, all rights excepting those expressly conceded to the general organization being retained by the districts. This consolidation provided for the common use of the several educational institutions: the Theological Seminary, Thiensville, Wis., Northwestern College, Watertown, Wis., Dr. Martin Luther College, New Ulm, Minn., Michigan Theological Seminary, Saginaw, Mich. Its principal participants, Wisconsin and Minnesota, helped to organize the Synodical Conference in 1872. The Nebraska Conference was received into membership in 1904, this step being conditioned upon its accepting membership in the Synodical Conference.

In the summer of 1915 a plan was advocated according to which the individual synods were advised to transfer their

* See Foreword for acknowledgment.

rights to a new Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States. Two years later the reorganization resulted in a territorial distribution of the three constituent synods into eight districts: Southeastern Wisconsin, North Wisconsin, West Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Nebraska, Dakota-Montana, and Pacific-Northwest. Each unit elects its own officers and meets in the even years, whereas the Joint Synod convenes in the odd years. The synod has advisory and supervisory powers only, and is not, strictly speaking, a governing body, the congregations remaining autonomous.

The doctrinal aspect of the Joint Synod is that of the Synodical Conference, viz., undaunted adherence to the infallible Scriptures and the unaltered Augsburg Confession. The language question has been solved, most of the congregations being bilingual. Since 1900 English has been rapidly gaining ground, the work in the parochial and Sunday Schools now being exclusively in that language. On the floor of synod, for the time being, the German still predominates. In the home mission field about one hundred pastors are aided by the synod. The mission among the Apache Indians in Arizona and the Lutheran Free Church in Poland, fathered by the Rev. O. Engel in 1922, are supported by the synod, while the work among the colored people of the South is done in conjunction with the Missouri Synod through the channel of the Synodical Conference. In the fall of 1928 Northwestern Lutheran Academy, Mobridge, S. D., was opened. The Northwestern Publishing House, Milwaukee, Wis., 1880, the Lutheran Home for the Aged, Belle Plaine, Minn., 1897, and the schools of the Arizona Indian Mission are common property. The synod joins Missouri in the maintenance of Calvary Lutheran University Church, Madison, Wis., the Lutheran Orphanage, Wauwatosa, Wis., the Home for the Feeble-minded, Watertown, Wis., the Old People's Home, Wauwatosa, Wis., and the Lutheran High School, Milwaukee, Wis. Synodical publications are *Gemeindeblatt*, founded 1865, *Northwestern Lutheran*, founded 1913, and *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1903.

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I. Wisconsin Synod

1. German Settlers and Settlements

Among the first settlers in Wisconsin, where John Jacob Astor's fur-trading posts and influence secured the building of Fort Winnebago, were: Lawrence Ermatinger, a trader, 1786; Antoine Barth and family, 1792; Jacob Frank, who opened a trading-house (1795) and a sawmill; Peter Ulrich, 1818; Judge John P. Arndt, who owned a tavern and ferry; Solomon Juneau, who spoke "Elsaesser-Deutsch"; and a German named Appel, who was killed in 1832 at the Battle of Pacatonia saving the life of Colonel Dodge—later first Governor of Wisconsin Territory.

It was not until 1839, however, that the first large group of German pioneers arrived. They were Old Lutherans from Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony and Silesia, who refused to submit to the union of the Lutheran and Reformed faiths forced on his subjects by Frederick William III, of Prussia. This union, proclaimed in 1817, was rigidly enforced in 1830. Pastors refusing to use the new agenda were deposed and imprisoned. Whole congregations were terrorized by the gendarmerie, and heavy fines were imposed on obstructing church members. In 1839 the congregation at Militsch, near Breslau, decided to emigrate to America, after their pastor, L. F. E. Krause, had been sent in advance to find a suitable place for settlement, November 4, 1838. Krause proceeded to Buffalo, where he was met by the immigrants from Erfurt, Magdeburg, Berlin and some from Silesia and Pomerania, who had sailed, about a thousand strong, in five sections from Hamburg, June 28th to July 27th, 1839, headed by Captain Henry von Rohr and Pastor J. A. A. Grabau. While Grabau remained at Buffalo, von Rohr took the immigrants still in possession of sufficient means to Wisconsin, October, 1839. A small fraction of the flock remained in Milwaukee, the bulk of the Pomeranians settling in the primeval forest of Township

IX, Washington (Ozaukee) County, twenty miles northwest of the city. This colony was called Freistadt, a haven of refuge.

These settlers were augmented by later arrivals coming from the vicinity of Stettin, Cammin, Treptow and Kolberg, Pomerania, and sections in Brandenburg. They crossed the ocean in four sailing vessels, departing from Stettin the latter part of June, 1843, under the leadership of Pastor A. Kindermann. After a trip of eleven weeks, they reached New York. On their way by boat from Buffalo to Milwaukee they were shipwrecked, October first, but no loss of life was entailed. The larger portion of the people from Cammin settled six miles north of Freistadt, and named their colony Kirchhayn. The immigrants from the Oderbruch located five miles east of Watertown, in the town of Lebanon. The remainder of the Camminers sought homes along the Cedar Creek, seven miles east of Kirchhayn, founding Cedarburg. By 1845, according to records, 250,000 acres of land had been sold to immigrant Germans in the Milwaukee land office. It is estimated that during the open navigation months from two to three hundred Germans landed in Milwaukee in a week, and up to 1844 this number rose to a thousand and fourteen hundred per week. Government reports show that fifty to sixty thousand immigrants, mostly Germans, came over the Erie Canal in the year 1843.

2. First Pastors and Organization of Synod

The Buffalo Synod was the first on the ground to organize the influx of Lutherans into congregations. Trouble at Freistadt gave the Missouri Synod an opportunity to enter the field. The Franckean Synod, too, supplied a few preaching places west of Lake Michigan prior to 1850. Soon, however, emissaries of missionary societies in Germany appeared and formed the nucleus of the Wisconsin Synod. In 1846 Ehrenfried Seebach, living on the Kilbourn Road in the town of Oakwood, south of Milwaukee, applied to the mission committee of Wesel, Germany, for a pastor. The letter was forwarded to the Langenberg Missionary Society, which had for its purpose the spiritual care of Protestant German immigrants in North America. When this request reached the Langenberg Society, three candidates, John Weinmann, W. Wrede, and August

Rauschenbusch, were already sailing for America. But as they were using a slow-going sailing vessel, it was possible to reach them by letter carried on a steamship when they landed in New York. This document directed Weinmann to go to the petitioning congregation at Oakwood. June 27, 1848, J. M. Muehlhaeuser, also an emissary of the Langenberg Society, arrived at Milwaukee in answer to Weinmann's call. He was induced by two English ministers, one a Presbyterian and the other a Congregationalist, to conduct German services in rooms rented for this purpose by his American friends. On May 13, 1849, Trinity Church, of moderate confessionalism, later known as Grace Church or "Muehlhaeuser-Kirche," was organized. Wrede entered the field in 1849, taking charge of the congregation at Granville, five miles northwest of Milwaukee. Recognizing the necessity of synodical coöperation, the three men, Muehlhaeuser, Weinmann and Wrede, met in the rooms then used by Grace Church and formally established the First German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin, December 8, 1849. Muehlhaeuser was made president, Weinmann secretary, and Wrede treasurer. The actual organization took place at Granville, May 27, 1850, with five men present, Paul Meiss and C. Pluess, licensed candidates, in addition to the three ordained pastors, representing eighteen congregations. The first synodical constitution, modelled by Muehlhaeuser after that of the New York Ministerium, characterized its confessional position merely as being Evangelical Lutheran. It made the pastors—the "Ministerium"—more responsible for the conduct of the synod's affairs than the laymen, and it provided for licensing of preachers. But as early as 1863 we notice a more explicit doctrinal statement: "This body acknowledges the entire canonical writings of the Old and New Testaments as the sole standard of faith, and also the Symbolical Books as the proper interpretation of the Word of God." Congregations desirous of uniting with this synodical alliance must accept "the pure confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as the rule and standard of faith and life." From a "mild and conciliatory" attitude the Lutheranism of this synod developed into one of uncompromising fidelity to the Lutheran confessions.

3. Relations with Germany

The Rhenish Mission Society in 1836 decided on work among the Indians on the Missouri River, and Heyer and Niess were sent to America. Benjamin Kurtz, editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, advised them to cancel their plan of reaching the Indians, and to go rather to the neglected Germans. As the constitution of the Rhenish Society provided for the heathen only, the Evangelical Association for the Protestant Germans in North America, briefly called the Langenberg Society, was founded July 27, 1837. Their first emissaries, Max Oertel and John Muehlhaeuser, were soon followed by a host of other men. On November 10, 1852, the Berlin Association for the Emigrant Germans of the Evangelical Church in the West of North America, generally known as the Berlin Society, was organized and did much through its publication, the *Ansiedler im Westen*, to interest German public opinion in the spiritual welfare of transoceanic kinsmen.

4. Fund Raising Trip of Pastor Bading

Since the few ministers sent from Germany could not possibly serve the ever increasing number of immigrants, it became necessary that American seminaries should be founded for the training of pastors. To raise funds for such a purpose President Bading at the expense of the Langenberg Society was sent to Europe to interest wealthy friends of the Lutheran cause in foreign lands. In June, 1863, while the Watertown seminary was in process of organization, Bading sailed for Germany. He raised the sum of 11,721 Taler, which, at the end of his six months trip, he placed at the disposal of the building committee. Considering that this contribution was made during the Civil War, its importance can hardly be overestimated.

5. Wisconsin and the Prussian Union

As soon as Pastor A. Hoenecke became a member of the seminary faculty, a decided change toward conservative Lutheranism was felt throughout the synod. It manifested itself in the stand taken by the synod against the use of a "unionized" catechism in vogue in the Prussian State Church, and against the admission to Lutheran communions of Reformed communicants. Suspected of Prussian Unionism, and

pressed by the aspersions of Missouri and Buffalo, Wisconsin solemnly declared itself against unionistic principles in 1867. As a result of this action, the Langenberg and Berlin Societies not only refused to coöperate in the establishment of a proseminary, but influenced the Prussian Consistory to hold in escrow the money (7,500 Taler) pledged toward the support of the synod, which money was never released. Two candidates of the Prussian State Church, being advised by the Consistory, left the Wisconsin Synod, while the other emissaries severed their connection with the mother-church. This rupture between Germany and the Wisconsin Synod resulted in the desire on the part of Wisconsin for closer relationship with other American synods.

6. Relations with Other Synods

a. Pennsylvania Ministerium. For almost two decades the Pennsylvania Ministerium sent from two to four hundred dollars annually for the support of underpaid pastors of the Wisconsin Synod. This aid was forthcoming because of Pastor Muehlhaeuser's early connections with the east. When Wisconsin separated from the General Council, this friendly relation naturally came to an end.

b. Synod of Northern Illinois. The Synod of Northern Illinois was not able to satisfy the urgent calls coming from rapidly growing German communities in Illinois and Iowa. Through its president, C. B. Thuemmel, it broached the question of joint work with the German Wisconsin Synod. Wisconsin was not disinclined, but no definite steps were taken on either side. At the time of the Scandinavian secession from the Northern Illinois Synod in 1860, Wisconsin's negotiations were also permitted to cease.

c. Iowa Synod. With the increasing tendency among individual synods toward union with general bodies, Iowa and Wisconsin drew closer together. To effect a union, special conferences were arranged in 1866 by representatives of both synods. But their doctrinal differences were so marked that harmony seemed to be out of the question. Though Wisconsin, at the formation of the General Council, sided with Iowa in regards to the "Four Points," a union of the two synods was not brought about. In the Klindworth controversy, when about twenty pastors urged the Iowa Synod to join with the

Wisconsin, Minnesota and Ohio in their Missouri-ward movement, a number of congregations joined Wisconsin rather than Missouri. The absence of pugnacious polemics helped much to retain the undisturbed relations, and when the Inter-synodical Conferences were held, it was hoped that Iowa and Wisconsin would find a common ground. When Iowa joined the American Lutheran Church it closed its Wisconsin door, much to the latter's regret.

d. Missouri Synod. From the very beginning the relations of Missouri and Wisconsin were not very cordial. Missouri objected strenuously to Wisconsin's laxness. In Watertown Pastor Bading ministered to congregations that had been organized in opposition to Missouri. This changed when Wisconsin Lutheranism was beyond reproach. In the middle of the fifties Wisconsin had definitely turned from the irenic Lutheranism of Muehlhaeuser to a blunter, plainspeaking and uncompromising Lutheranism. On the occasion of a colloquium, held at Milwaukee, October 21 and 22, 1868, and participated in by ten representatives of both synods, all differences were ironed out and the doctrinal standards were found identical. Meanwhile the Synodical Conference came into existence, uniting Missouri and Wisconsin as its chief constituents.

e. Minnesota Synod. Relations with Minnesota go back to early days. An interchange of delegates at synodical meetings has been proof that this bond of friendship was intimate. These pleasant relations were further stimulated when in 1862 Fachtmann was permitted by Wisconsin to serve the missionary needs of Minnesota, and a year later became Heyer's successor at Trinity Church, St. Paul. In 1866 Dr. E. F. Moldehnke, with the consent of his synod, made a missionary trip through the northeastern part of the state for the benefit of the sister synod. J. H. Sieker, who succeeded Fachtmann at St. Paul in 1867, was naturally predisposed to bring the state neighbors closer together. Then, too, the agreement of 1864, according to which Minnesota was to share in the benefits of the Wisconsin schools, helped much to cement this friendship. Wisconsin was gradually severing its relationship with the eastern synods and through Hoenecke and Bading approached Minnesota in regard to a union. At the colloquium at La Crosse, Wis., September 25, 1869, it became evident that

the doctrinal positions of both synods were identical. But inasmuch as Minnesota was still organically linked to the General Council, a formal union was temporarily given up. In 1871 an informal agreement permitted Minnesota to send students to the Wisconsin seminary, and Minnesota in turn offered to pay part of the salary of one professor. For a time, when Minnesota was agitated by the state synod movement, the institutions of the Missouri Synod were used. However, after 1879, a new way was found to resume old neighborliness. Joint sessions in 1883 and 1886 restored the synodical equilibrium. Since both Wisconsin and Minnesota are members of the Joint Synod and also of the Synodical Conference, they are bound together with double ties.

7. Participation in the Forming of Larger Bodies

a. General Council. Wisconsin was greatly interested in the organization of the General Council in 1866. The adoption of the Augsburg Confession was declared a sufficient basis of unity, and the Wisconsin Synod, through its president, W. Streissguth, and Professor A. Martin, applied for membership. At the synodical meeting of 1867 the doctrinal basis adopted at Reading was discussed, and point IX changed to state that all the Lutheran confessional writings were equally binding. At the General Council convention of 1867, held at Fort Wayne, the matter of the "Four Points" appeared in the foreground. These "Four Points," pertaining to chiliasm, secret societies, altar fellowship and exchange of pulpits, had been referred by the General Council to the district synods, and Wisconsin felt bound to declare for a proper statement of its position. The question of altar fellowship caused a violent debate, which resulted in the following resolution: "This synod (Wisconsin), together with the true Lutheran Church, rejects, as incompatible with the principles of the church, every kind of fellowship of altar and pulpit with men of different faith." Since the General Council would not take a definite stand along these lines, the Wisconsin Synod felt constrained to withdraw from its organization.

b. Synodical Conference. Wisconsin opened negotiations for union which led to the founding of the Synodical Conference. In 1872 this Synodical Conference held its first official convention at St. John's, Milwaukee. Soon afterwards, Prof.

A. Schmidt of the Norwegian Synod advocated the organization of all Lutherans residing in a state into state synods. But the plan, having been submitted to the Synodical Conference at its convention at St. Paul in 1876, was vigorously opposed by Wisconsin and eventually dropped. Belonging to the Synodical Conference, the Wisconsin Synod took an active part in the controversy on predestination. At the annual convention at La Crosse, Wis., 1882, the Wisconsin Synod declared its position in this matter, dividing a few congregations on the one hand and gaining a few pastors, including Phil. von Rohr, who at that time dissolved what remained of a wing of the old Buffalo Synod. During the controversy, Dr. Hoenecke by gentle and conciliatory speech took the sting out of Missouri's offensive phraseology, and accomplished much in the interest of peace in the church.

8. Educational Institutions

The matter of a theological school was agitated as early as 1863, when Dr. Moldehnke was recalled from his missionary journeys and made director of the institution which began its activity in the Gardiner house on Fourth Street, Watertown, Wis., rented for this purpose. Dr. Moldehnke held this position for three years. Dr. Hoenecke, a Halle man, trained under Tholuck, was chosen as his successor. In May 1864, ground was broken for the first building. With the assistance of the Berlin Society, and as a result of a special trip of Pastor G. Vorberg to Germany, a number of young men came from Germany for theological training at Watertown. For ten years, 1868-1878, the Wisconsin Synod joined in the support of the general seminary of the Missouri Synod at St. Louis. When the synod decided to reestablish its own seminary, the school was reopened with an enrollment of six students. On September 17th, 1893, was dedicated a commodious structure at Wauwatosa, a suburb of Milwaukee, to accommodate the growing student body. Since 1929 the seminary has been located at Thiensville, Wisconsin, on an eighty acre farm, the new buildings being dedicated August 18th, 1929.

While the seminary was started in 1863, the opening of the college was postponed to 1865, when the new building was dedicated. Dr. Adam Martin, from Hartwick Seminary, New

York, became the first president. The pretentious name, Wisconsin University, was soon changed to Northwestern University. Later the more modest designation, Northwestern College, was adopted. In the fall of 1868, after the transfer of the theological department to St. Louis, the preparatory school was transformed into an up-to-date gymnasium, modelled after the German ideal. Dr. A. F. Ernst, a German university man, coming to Wisconsin from the east, became president in 1870 and remained in that capacity more than fifty years. He died in 1924, but his memory, together with that of Dr. Hoenecke, will remain as that of one of the great teachers of the synod.

9. Parochial Schools and the Bennett Law

From the very start the Wisconsin Synod proceeded to organize Christian day schools. It was difficult to secure competent teachers, and many pastors taught school themselves in addition to their work as preachers. The congregations being German, the instruction was at first in that language. In the course of time a teachers' conference was organized and ranked as an acknowledged unit of the synod. It was started in 1870, though there was a scattering of professional teachers working in the synod before that time. Wisconsin had no teachers of its own until a normal department was opened at Watertown. After a few years it was discontinued in favor of New Ulm. These Watertown and New Ulm men began to influence the work in the schools in the direction it would have to take in an English-speaking country, when the transition was hurried by the "school question" raised in Wisconsin as a political issue in 1889.

A bill was introduced in the assembly requiring "as part of the elementary education of children, reading, writing, arithmetic and United States history in the English language." Its enactment threatened the very existence of the synod's schools and churches. German voters, convinced that the Bennett Law was a covert attack upon personal liberty and freedom of speech, secured its defeat.

10. Home and Foreign Missions

The first missionary exploration on a large scale was made by Pastor J. Bading and Pastor Ph. Koehler, both walking the

distance from West Bend to Ahnapee, the Algoma of today. This prepared the way for G. Fachtmann, who in 1857 became the first itinerant preacher called by the synod. He was succeeded by Moldehnke, who reached the frontier settlements on the boundary of Iowa and Minnesota. Personally he served twenty-two preaching places. In 1867 Pastor G. Thiele was engaged for a brief period. Later the synod assigned two or three men to serve in the home mission field. In 1890 this number was raised to ten. Today many congregations bear witness to the blessed work done by these early itinerant missionaries.

Foreign missions were not undertaken until a committee, appointed in 1883, proposed to train young men for that cause. When urgent calls for help were received from representatives of Indian affairs in the southwestern section of our country, mission work among the Apache Indians in Arizona was undertaken. This work was taken over by the Joint Synod in 1892.

Together with Missouri, the Wisconsin Synod since 1879 has been supporting a mission among negroes. The first colored Lutheran congregation was organized by F. Berg July 3, 1878, at Little Rock, Ark. Since 1898 each synod comprising the Synodical Conference has a special representative bringing the needs of this mission before his respective synod. In Greensboro, N. C., the synod helps maintain Immanuel Lutheran College, with theological, normal and high school departments, and in Selma, Ala., it supports Alabama College, a teachers' training school. *Missionstaube* and *Lutheran Pioneer*, published in the interest of the colored missions, are widely read in Wisconsin circles.

Soon after the World War, calls for spiritual help came from German Lutherans in the Republic of Poland, and Rev. Otto Engel was sent to study the situation. He arrived in Lodz March 4, 1922, and after a stay of ten months reported his findings to the Delegate Synod meeting at Milwaukee, 1923. He returned to Poland for another eighteen months. G. Maliszewski, who had completed his studies at the Berlin-Zehlendorf seminary, was called to St. Paul's in Lodz. Soon afterwards Trinity Church was organized at Adrespol. Its members are Swabians who came to this section when Catherine II in her colonization effort induced many Germans to

cross the Vistula. There are now thirteen preaching places and seven pastors. The preaching is in the German language, but Polish is gradually coming into demand.

Biographical Notes

Pastor John F. Bading, born at Rixdorf, near Berlin, November 24, 1824, was won for the Gospel by Gossner. Educated in Berlin Mission Seminary, 1846, and Hermannsburg, Hannover, 1848, he came in contact with the Rhenish Missionary Society and was sent to America by the Langenberg Society, July 1853. After his ordination, October 6, 1853, he served congregations in Wisconsin. He was active in raising the doctrinal standard of the Wisconsin Synod. In 1863 he was sent on a fund-raising trip to Germany, Russia and Switzerland. He was twice president of the Wisconsin Synod. He was an ardent advocate of the Synodical Conference, whose president he was 1882-1912. He died May 24, 1913.

Dr. Augustus Frederick Ernst, born June 25, 1841, at Edesse, Hannover, he attended the Gymnasium at Celle and then proceeded to Goettingen, where he studied theology, philology and philosophy. He came to America in 1863, was ordained at Pottstown, Pa., and served congregations at Brooklyn and Albany, N. Y. He was called to Northwestern College in 1869 where he remained until 1922. He made this Watertown institution an American school with the best German traditions, serving as president, 1871-1919. In 1915 Concordia Seminary of St. Louis conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He was the first president of the Joint Synod. He wrote the following texts for parochial schools: *Biblische Geschichte*; and *Aus der Geschichte der lutherischen Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten*. He died August 8, 1924, the "Preceptor of the Lutheran Northwest."

Dr. Adolf Hoenecke, born at Brandenburg, February 25, 1835, received his classical education at the Gymnasium of his native city, and went to Halle, where he studied theology under Tholuck. After serving for a time as private tutor, he placed his services at the disposal of the Berlin Missionary Society. After being ordained in the Magdeburg cathedral, he started for America, November 18, 1862. After a brief pastorate, he was a professor at the Watertown Seminary, 1866-1870. When the seminary was transferred to St. Louis, he accepted a call to St. Matthew's, Milwaukee. He became professor of dogmatics and homiletics at the reëstablished seminary, 1878-1908, retaining his pastorate until 1890. He was editor of *Gemeindeblatt* and *Theologische Quartalsschrift*. He published a volume of sermons, *Wenn ich nur Dich*

habe. His principal work, *Dogmatik*, was published after his death by his sons, Walter and Otto. Other posthumous works were, *Entwuerfe* and *Ein Laemmlein geht*, Lenten sermons. On the occasion of his twenty-fifth anniversary as professor of theology, the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the faculties of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, and Northwestern College, Watertown, 1903. He died January 3, 1908, acclaimed as one of the most eminent personalities of the Lutheran Church in America.

Dr. Edward Frederick Moldehnke was born at Insterburg, East Prussia, August 10, 1836. He was a descendant, on his mother's side, from the Salzburger who were patriated in East Prussia. He entered the Gymnasium at Lyck, matriculated at the University of Koenigsberg, 1853, and proceeded to Halle, 1855, where he became the amanuensis of Tholuck. Averse to dueling, he founded a Christian student society, Tuisconia. After serving as rector at Lyck College, he was ordained at Koenigsberg in July 1861, to accept a call as field secretary of missions for the Synod of Wisconsin. His regular reports of his missionary enterprises in Wisconsin and Minnesota caused the Berlin Society to publish its monthly, *Ansiedler im Westen*. He became the first professor of the Theological Seminary at Watertown in 1864, and of Northwestern College, 1865. He was the first editor of *Gemeindeblatt*. In August, 1866, he returned to Germany and served a German-Polish congregation at Johannisberg, East Prussia. After hard and persistent struggles with the Prussian Union he came back to the United States, April, 1869. He became pastor of St. Peter's, New York, and editor of *Siloah*, the first German monthly for Home Missions, 1882. Other publications of his were: *Darstellung der modernen deutschen Theologie vom lutherischen Standpunkte aus*, 1865; *Das heilige Vaterunser*, 1878; and *Vortraege*, a collection of lectures given in the Cooper Institute, New York. He died June 25, 1904.

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II. Minnesota Synod

1. Pioneers and Father Heyer

The first German interested in the area of Minnesota was America's foremost fur-trader, John Jacob Astor, born of Lutheran parents at Waldorf, Germany. In 1849 the Territory of Minnesota was opened and Alexander Ramsay, with a strain of Pennsylvania-German blood from his maternal parent, was commissioned governor. His coming to St. Paul started a tide of immigration. It was not, however, until the spring of 1855 that a flood of immigration, perhaps without precedent, began to pour into Minnesota. The land boom took such abnormal proportions that we may conjecture that between 1855 and 1857 more than seven hundred towns were laid out.

It was none other than Dr. W. A. Passavant who made a plea for the scattered Lutherans on the Minnesota frontier before the East Pennsylvania Synod, meeting at Lancaster, Pa., October 5, 1857. The following resolution was passed: "Resolved, That five hundred dollars be appropriated to the support of an English Lutheran mission in St. Paul, Minn., and that the Executive Committee of the Central Home Missionary Society of the General Synod endeavor to secure a suitable man for this important post." Passavant proposed J. C. F. Heyer, who was commissioned in October, 1857, and reached St. Paul November 16, 1857. Six days later he took charge of Trinity congregation, organized by F. W. Wier July 29, 1855, the oldest German Lutheran parish in the state. However, Heyer did preach an occasional English sermon "to prepare the way for some younger brother to come West and establish an English Lutheran charge in St. Paul," as he put it.

2. Pioneer Pastors before 1860.

Before the coming of Heyer there were a number of other Lutheran pastors in the field. The first to arrive was William Thomson. In April, 1855, he had left Ohio with a part of his congregation and settled finally at Prairieville, near Owatonna, Minn., May 1856. Supported by the Home Mission Society, he founded the first English Lutheran congregation in the state in the home of Hon. J. C. Ide, East Prairieville, June 1855.

Frederick William Wier, a native of Germany, came to Minnesota only three months after Thomson. He was prepared for the ministry in Gossner's Mission School, Berlin, and came to America in 1841. About the middle of July, 1855, Wier came to St. Paul and held his first service in an Episcopal church, July 22, 1855. Wier has to his credit the founding of the three oldest German Lutheran congregations in Minnesota still existing: Trinity, St. Paul; St. John's, Baytown; and Emmanuel's, Iver Grove.

The next Lutheran pastor to arrive in Minnesota was Matthew Mallinson, who came from the East and settled in Mount Vernon Township, Winona County, prior to October 20, 1855. He held religious services at Minneiske, Wabasha County, as early as 1856.

Albrecht Brandt, when fifty years of age, came to the state with a small group of settlers in 1856. He preached occasionally at Winona, and served as lay preacher at Town Hart, Winona County. In 1861 he wrote to a representative of the Missouri Synod for a preacher for the latter place, and as a result H. F. C. Grupe was sent from Wisconsin the following year.

The most gifted of the first pastors was, without question, L. F. E. Krause, who came to Winona in the spring of 1856 after serving congregations of the Buffalo Synod in Wisconsin and New York. He organized St. Martin's, Winona, in 1856, which later joined the Wisconsin Synod.

Ferdinand Sievers was sent to Minnesota in August, 1856, by the Missouri Synod to investigate the possibilities of establishing a mission among the Chippewa Indians and to look up openings for mission work among the German Lutherans. Besides O. Cloeter, who was stationed at Crow Wing among the Indians, only one other man was placed in the Minnesota

field as a result of Siever's scouting. That man was F. Kahmayer, who took up work in Carver County in 1857.

3. Founding of the Synod

The man most responsible for bringing about the organization of the Minnesota Synod was Dr. Passavant, who had made an exploration trip to St. Paul by way of La Crosse and Red Wing in 1856. He counted on the Germans Heyer and Wier, the Swedes Norelius, Cedarstam and Beckman, the Norwegian Scheije, and possibly Brandt, also German. Passavant advised the organization of a Church Union or Conference. This conference was held in the Swedish Lutheran Church, Red Wing, July 3-5, 1858, Heyer being elected chairman and Thomson secretary. The German and English pastors believed the time opportune to organize the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Minnesota, whereas the Swedish pastors stated that before taking any definite steps they felt constrained to consult with their brethren at the next meeting of the United Chicago and Mississippi Conference. Heyer and those with him resolved "that we now proceed to organize an Evangelical Lutheran synod on the basis of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, as this confession is understood in agreement with the other symbolical books of our church." However, the Synod of Minnesota was not actually founded until July 6, 1860, and then at St. Paul, with Heyer, Thomson, Mallinson, Wier, Brandt and Blumer as charter members.

4. Re-making the Confessional Standard

The doctrinal complexion of the Minnesota Synod was one of the widest possible inconsistency between theory and practice. Unionistic tendencies flourished in spite of declarations made in favor of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. The constitution adopted by Trinity congregation in St. Paul, June 30, 1858, was patterned after that then in vogue in the General Synod. Missouri influence was felt when E. Rolf, insisting that Minnesota was non-Lutheran, organized Zion's congregation in St. Paul with a group that had withdrawn from Trinity congregation because of Fachtmann's unionistic practices.

With the election of Sieker as Fachtmann's successor, a decided change was noticeable. At the very first meeting he

asked whether the synod took the Lutheran confessions seriously and was answered in the affirmative. When he was made president at the next annual convention, June 9-13, 1869, Sieker considered a closer union with Missouri and began to supply Minnesota charges with Missouri pastors. Discussions with Missouri and a closer relationship with Wisconsin helped to clear the atmosphere. At a private conference, held in St. Paul, during which Prof. S. Fritschel assailed the doctrinal position of the General Synod, Minnesota changed its attitude. Today the Minnesota Synod is a member of the Synodical Conference which it helped to organize in 1872.

5. Affiliation with the General Council

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania, cutting loose from the General Synod in 1866, issued a call for a new Lutheran body. Heyer was present at the preliminary convention at Reading, Pa., in December of the same year. The question of joining the General Council was brought up for discussion at the regular meeting in 1867. Thomson protested against joining, as it was in the nature of such a new body to cause further divisions; but all other members, ministers and laymen, voted in favor of joining. Sieker attended the third convention of the General Council at Chicago in 1869, and submitted a few questions which forced the Council to give an explicit account of its Pittsburgh declaration. Sieker, in view of disagreements within the Council concerning the "Four Points," wished to know:

"1. Whether or not heretics and fundamental errorists can be admitted to our altars as communicants and into our pulpits as teachers of our congregations;

"2. Since the so-called distinctive doctrines, by which doctrinal opposition between the Lutheran Church and other denominations is expressed, are fundamental; whether the General Council (in no. III, 1, and no. IV, 1, 2, of the declarations made at Pittsburgh) understood by 'fundamental errorists' those who, with regard to these distinctive doctrines, are not in harmony with the pure doctrine of the Word of God as it is confessed and taught in our Church."

The first question of this "Minnesota Memorial" was answered in the negative, i. e. there can be no fellowship with errorists. Regarding the second question, however, the Council, while admitting that the "distinctive doctrines" were of

fundamental value and that those not in accord with them were "fundamental errorists," made a distinction between malicious, persistent and intentional offenders and others who were erring unconsciously and through weakness. The Minnesota Synod, realizing that this luke-warm position would eventually lead to unionism, severed its relation to the General Council in 1871.

6. Intersynodical Conferences

In the summer of 1915, the Rev. H. Boettcher suggested to the members of the Sibley County Conference a joint meeting with the Ohio pastors of that vicinity for the purpose of discussing the doctrinal differences separating the Synodical Conference and Ohio. It was proposed to recognize each other as Lutherans and all references to polemic articles in the various synodical publications were to be avoided. The Bible was accepted as the only source and the Confessions as the only norm of what constitutes Lutheranism. Pastors only were to meet for discussion, with the express exclusion of professors. The first meeting was held at Haylord, Minn., July 28, 1915, all the Minnesota and Missouri pastors being present but only one Ohio representative participating. The doctrine of conversion was treated, with Pastor C. Seltz as main spokesman. It was conceded that *in rebus et phrasibus* all were agreed. In the fall of the same year another meeting was called, all the Ohio men taking part. The doctrine of predestination was discussed, with the result that there was a mutual agreement as to the correct and the ambiguous and misleading statements in the controversy. At a later meeting, held in January, 1916, about two hundred fifty pastors registered, including some of Iowa. Guided by a committee consisting of E. Lehne of Ohio, K. Ermisch of Iowa, H. Boettcher and A. C. Haase of Wisconsin, and C. Seltz and A. Kuntz of Missouri, the different conferences, after much deliberation agreed to the so-called St. Paul Theses. The individual synods were then asked to appoint an official committee to examine these theses and judge whether they might be used as a basis for joint discussion. These committees met once or twice a year until, after a period of more than ten years, complete harmony was effected in what were known as the Chicago Theses. The Iowa Synod, a number of districts of the Ohio Synod and the Minnesota

District Synod accepted them. But because of Missouri's refusal to recognize the theses, Ohio withdrew from further negotiations. The agreement on the article of predestination was brought about by Dr. George Fritschel, who, accepting Dr. Stoeckhardt's exegesis of the Epistle to the Romans, succeeded in convincing others that Stoeckhardt had the correct biblical view. The Intersynodical Conferences have brought about a better understanding among the synods in question, and it is hoped they will be resumed.

7. Dr. Martin Luther College

When the idea of a state synod was finally abandoned, Pastor C. J. Albrecht of New Ulm, since 1883 president of synod, was instrumental in establishing Dr. Martin Luther Seminary in 1884. This name was given the New Ulm institution because the plan for its erection had been conceived on the 400th anniversary of the birth of Luther. This school, at first merely an academy, was later enlarged by the addition of a practical theological seminary. In 1893, when the combination of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan was consummated, New Ulm was converted into a Lutheran normal school. It now serves the Joint Synod as a preparatory school for the Thiensville seminary.

Biographical Notes

Christian John Albrecht was born at Eschenau, Wuerttemberg, July 13, 1847. He received his theological training at the St. Crischona Mission Seminary, coming to Minnesota in 1872. He was the founder and first director of the institution at New Ulm where he taught until 1893. He took an active part in the organization of the Joint Synod and of the China Mission Society. He was president of the Minnesota Synod 1883-1894. He died in 1931.

John Henry Sieker, born at Schweinfurth, Bavaria, October 23, 1839, came to Wisconsin in 1850. He studied at Gettysburg, Pa. While pastor of Trinity Church, St. Paul, he became president of the Minnesota Synod in 1869. Through his influence the synod withdrew from the General Council and became part of the Synodical Conference. In 1876 he became pastor of old St. Matthew's in New York. In the school house of this parish he founded Concordia Institute in 1881, the year he joined the Missouri Synod. He was quite active also, in the work of charitable institutions. He died in 1904.

Andrew Schroedel, born January 29, 1851, at Neustadtren, Kulm, Bavaria, came to America with his parents who settled in Milwaukee in 1853. At the age of thirteen he was confirmed by Pastor Muehlhaeuser. He graduated from Northwestern College, Watertown, Wis., 1873, and from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1876. After two pastorates in Wisconsin, he was professor at Watertown 1889 to 1893. He was president of the Minnesota Synod 1906-1909. His death occurred November 21, 1909.

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III. Michigan Synod

1. Washtenaw County Settlement

The Lutheran colony in Washtenaw County was one of the earliest in Michigan. This group of Swabians, hailing from villages near Stuttgart, Wurtemberg, Germany, settled at Ann Arbor and Scio in 1830. Henry Mann, their spokesman, wrote to the Mission Society at Basel, Switzerland, asking for a pastor. Frederick Schmid was assigned to them. He came from Wurtemberg, arriving in Detroit August 16th, 1833. The following Sunday, August 18th, he preached the first Lutheran sermon in Michigan in the shop of John Hais. Two days later he reached Ann Arbor and conducted services with thirty-three Swabian families in a school house on the old Territory Road four miles west of the city. The first German parish in

Michigan was organized in 1834, becoming Zion's Lutheran Church, but incorporated as "First German Society of Scio." Daniel Frederick Allmendinger, who arrived at Ann Arbor September 18, 1825, was one of the founders.

2. The First Michigan Synod

Pastor Schmid soon extended his mission tours into all sections of southern Michigan, organizing more than twenty congregations. When, in 1840, he was joined by F. P. Schwab and J. H. Mann, he formed the first Michigan Synod, calling it the "Missionary Synod" to indicate that pastors and congregations should carry on mission work among the Indians. Two other men, Dumser and Sinke, came in 1845 to work among Indians especially.

3. Loehe's Interest

Meanwhile Pastor Loehe of Neuendettelsau, Germany, aroused by the Macedonian call of Wyneken, had taken an interest in Michigan colonists and American Indians. He urged W. Hattstaedt of Monroe, Mich., to report on the prospects of Indian missions. Schmid assured him that confessional Lutheranism would be the unalterable program. Whereupon W. Hattstaedt of Monroe, Mich., J. Trautmann of Arcadia, Mich., F. Lochner of Toledo, Ohio, and A. Craemer of Frankenmuth, Mich., were instructed to join the Michigan Synod. In addition to this, Loehe placed his Indian mission, started by Craemer, under the care of Pastor Schmid, who had selected the fertile Saginaw valley as a good location for the Indian mission. When it was realized that Schmid's pledges were merely paper promises, confessional controversies arose. When Pastor Dumser, who rejected the Lutheran point of view, was made missionary to the Indians over the protest of Loehe's disciples, these four pastors by a solemn documentary statement withdrew in 1846 from the Michigan Synod, which shortly afterwards ceased to exist.

4. Second Michigan Synod

Pastor Schmid, after a brief stay in the Ohio Synod, remained independent and extended his missionary exploits in all directions. New fields were supplied with pastors, some trained by Schmid himself and others coming from Basel.

With the growth of the congregations Schmid conceived the idea of a new organization, and communicated with Inspector Josenhans of the Basel Mission relative to a new synod modeled after the doctrinal standards of Wurtemberg. Thus, December 10, 1860, the second Synod of Michigan was formed at Detroit with eight pastors and three delegates under the presidency of Schmid. The confessional standard was staunchly Lutheran, due to the insistence of Stephan Klingmann and Christian L. Eberhardt, who had come from Basel the same year. The following statement gives proof of the solid doctrinal foundation adopted: "The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Michigan obligates itself to all the canonical books of both the Old and New Testaments as the sole rule and standard of faith and life, and to all the books of our Evangelical Lutheran Church as the true interpretation of Holy Scripture."

5. Missionary Activity of Eberhardt

From the very beginning it was deemed essential to place an itinerant missionary in the field. Eberhardt was especially fitted for this work. His incessant efforts opened many new fields. Using Hopkins, Allegan County, as a starting point, in two months he opened up sixteen preaching places within a radius of three hundred and sixty miles. He preached at the different stations every three weeks and at the same time prepared children for confirmation at four places. After he had explored Van Buren, Allegan, Ottawa, Clinton and Muskegon counties, he ventured into the mining region of Lake Superior, Upper Michigan in 1861. Accepting a call from Saginaw, he found new fields at St. Charles, Chesaning, Frankentrost and West Bay City.

6. Union with the General Council

The opening of so many new fields made the demand for new pastors urgent. The Basel Mission Institute, the main source of supply, took a decided turn toward unionism. Hence the Michigan Synod decided to unite with the General Council in 1867, thus hoping to secure the needed pastors. Since there was no German theological seminary in this church body at that time, students from Kropp were encouraged to take up work in the Michigan Synod. But doctrinal divergencies soon became evident. Michigan objected to the Akron Declaration

and preferred the simpler Galesburg Rule. Klingmann, who represented his synod, renewed his protest from year to year. All hope for better relations were shattered when on the occasion of the General Council convention in Monroe, Mich., in 1884, two General Council pastors preached in the Presbyterian church. Objections offered by Michigan were ignored and evaded. When all efforts proved futile, the relation to the General Council was terminated in 1888.

7. Union with the Joint Synod of Wisconsin and the Synodical Conference

After withdrawing from the General Council, Michigan turned toward the Synodical Conference. In 1891 President C. A. Lederer and Director F. Huber went to Minnesota in behalf of their synod to confer concerning a prospective field for missionary activity. On this occasion they met officers of the Minnesota Synod who contemplated a new organization for concerted effort in the northern field. Michigan, desiring to strengthen its influence, and feeling the need of a more thorough training for its ministers, participated in the movement. Delegates were sent to a convention held at Milwaukee, April 21, 1891, where preliminaries were arranged for the prospective organization of the Joint Synod. Here it was agreed that, before Michigan united with Wisconsin and Minnesota, it should first become a member of the Synodical Conference. This was done in the summer of 1892 at the regular convention of the Conference. During the next autumn the Joint Synod was organized.

8. Division and Founding of the Michigan District

An agreement with the other parts of the Joint Synod stipulated that the seminary at Saginaw be transformed into a college. This caused a rupture in the synod. The majority, favoring its retention as a theological seminary, suspended the minority of ten, who thereupon organized in 1896 the District Synod of Michigan and continued to fulfill their obligations to the Synodical Conference and the Joint Synod.

9. Union with the Augsburg Synod

When the connection with the Synodical Conference was severed, the Michigan Synod united with the Augsburg Synod

in 1897. This church body was merely a conference of independent congregations in a number of Mississippi valley states. It was soon discovered that the doctrinal position of these two bodies was altogether incompatible and their relation ceased after three years.

10. Adjustment of Differences

Thus isolated, the Michigan Synod considered a return to the Synodical Conference. The new men at the helm of the synod, mostly graduates of the Saginaw seminary, advocated conferences with Missouri in 1904, and with the Michigan District Synod in 1906. In 1909 it was decided to annul the suspension of the minority and a reunion followed that same year at Fort Atkinson, Wis.

11. Saginaw Seminary

Since the supply of new pastors was both numerically insufficient and of divergent training, the synod in 1885 began a seminary of its own at Manchester with six students, and A. Lange, formerly a member of the Buffalo Synod, as first instructor. Two years later the institution was moved to Saginaw. After the union of the Michigan Synod with the Joint Synod, it became a college with O. R. Hoenecke director.

Biographical Notes

Frederick Schmid, the first Lutheran pastor in Michigan, was born at Walddorf, Wurtemberg, Germany, September 6, 1807. After training at the Basel Mission House, he was ordained at Lorrach, Baden, April 9, 1833, and arrived in Detroit August 16, holding a preaching service there two days later. His second service was held in Ann Arbor in a school house on Territory Road, now M-17 of the state road system. October 22, 1834, he organized the "First German Society of Scio," Zion's Church, the first German parish in Michigan Territory. He also began the first Lutheran mission among the Chippewa Indians in Michigan. He visited German settlers all over the state, and organized the Michigan Synod in which he served for many years as president. He died August 30, 1883. A son, Prof. E. Schmid, was a member of the faculty of Capital University, Columbus, O.

Christoph Ludwig Eberhardt was born January 3, 1831, educated at Basel, and ordained August 5, 1860. With S. Klingmann he came to Michigan in response to Schmid's plea for help. Arriv-

ing in Ann Arbor September 27, 1860, he began work as a circuit rider, using Hopkins, Allegan County, as his base. Before Christmas of that year he had served sixteen places. Many of his journeys were on foot. He insisted on sound Lutheranism in the organization of the second synod, of which he was president 1881-1890. Because of his untiring labor in the interest of the institution at Saginaw, he is fittingly called the "Father of the Seminary." For many years he was pastor of St. Paul's, Saginaw. He died April 27, 1893.

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IV. Nebraska District

The earliest group of those who formed the Nebraska district came from Wisconsin, and were part of that group of dissenters from the Breslau Synod whose emigration from Pomerania and Brandenburg will be described in connection with the Buffalo Synod (Chap. XII, part B). Hardships resulting from the Civil War induced a company of 124 persons from the vicinity of Ixonia and Watertown in Wisconsin to migrate to virgin territory in Nebraska in the vicinity of what is now Norfolk, July 15, 1866.

On August 29, 1901, eleven pastors of the Wisconsin Synod, residing in Nebraska, met at St. John's, Firth, Nebr., and resolved to organize themselves into a district. To avoid administrative difficulties, the Nebraska group was advised to

unite as a coördinate body with Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan in the Joint Synod. Thus the German Evangelical Lutheran District Synod of Nebraska came into existence at Clatonia, August 25, 1904. In the 1917 reorganization within the Joint Synod, Nebraska became one of the eight districts.

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V. Dakota-Montana District

Lutherans, who migrated westward from Minnesota into adjoining states, maintained their relation to the Minnesota Synod. The Rev. J. J. Hunziker, formerly a missionary in India, was an itinerant pastor in the Dakotas in 1876. His successor, the Rev. H. P. Christoph Boettcher, was an indefatigable worker, serving twenty-seven places. In 1917 the congregations in the Dakotas and Montana belonging to the Minnesota Synod became a district of the Joint Synod.

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VI. Pacific-Northwest District

In 1895 the Rev. F. Wolf and his congregation at Tacoma, Wash., united with the Wisconsin Synod. Home mission activity added other congregations: Leavenworth, Mansfield, North Yakima, Ellensburg and Clarkston. In 1917 these Wisconsin Synod congregations on the Pacific coast became the Pacific-Northwest District of the Joint Synod.

Reference

Concordia Cyclopedia, p. 561.

B. SLOVAK EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNOD OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Though Slovaks were to be found in the colonies, they did not come to America in numbers until 1873. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania attempted to serve those in the Wilkes-Barre coal regions, calling Karol Horak from the old country to be their pastor in 1882. The first congregation to be organized was in Streator, Ill., which called Cyril Droppa from Czecho-Slovakia to be their pastor. Droppa arrived in Streator March 26, 1884 and held his first service four days later. The organization of Slovak congregations occurred also in Free-land and Nanticoke, Pa., and in Minneapolis, Minn.

After preliminary meetings at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., June 9, 1889, and at Braddock, Pa., January 16-17, 1900, and again June 4, 1902, a Slovak Synod was organized at Connellsville, Pa., September 2, 1902, with fifteen congregations represented either by pastor or lay delegate. In 1908 the synod joined the Synodical Conference.

After the difficulties arising from the synod's turn toward Missouri had subsided, the synod prospered. Its pastors are trained in Missouri institutions, and its benevolent funds are distributed through Missouri agencies. The synod is divided into three districts: Eastern, Central and Western. After the World War, the synod took an interest in brethren in the fatherland, starting work in Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia. Official synodical publications are *Svedok* (Witness), and *Mladý Luteran* (Young Lutheran).

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C. NORWEGIAN SYNOD OF THE AMERICAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

When the Norwegian Lutheran Church was formed in 1917, a minority within the Norwegian Synod refused to enter the merger which they felt was not sufficiently conservative. This minority organized the "Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church" June 14-19, 1918, at Lima Creek Church, near Lake Mills, Iowa. Rev. B. Harstad was the first president. A year later a constitution, essentially that of the old Norwegian Synod, was adopted, and in 1920 the body united with the Synodical Conference.

The synod insists upon the maintainance of Christian day schools, financing them by a special fund. Aside from Bethany College, Mankato, Minn., an institution of junior college grade, the synod has no educational institutions, but uses the institutions of the Missouri and Wisconsin synods. Two travelling missionaries cultivate the large field covered by the synod. Otherwise, the Colored Missions of the Synodical Conference, and the China and India Missions of the Missouri Synod are supported. Being strictly conservative, the synod accepts all the Confessional writings and abhors all unionistic tendencies. The official papers of the synod are *Evangelisk Luthersk Tidende* and *Lutheran Sentinel*.

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CHAPTER XII

INDEPENDENT GERMAN SYNODS

A. THE JOINT SYNOD OF OHIO AND OTHER STATES¹

1. Lutheran Settlers in Ohio

The beginnings of Lutheranism in Ohio are practically contemporaneous with the opening of the territory to white settlement. Ohio was admitted to statehood in 1803; but at least a decade earlier a steady stream of Pennsylvania-German immigrants began to move westward into the newly opened territory. Most of them were either Lutheran or Reformed. They followed the Cumberland Road, which spans the state between Wheeling, W. Va., and Richmond, Ind., and the Zane's Trace, which ran from Zanesville to Cincinnati, forming settlements along these highways many of which have resulted in flourishing congregations. Others turned north and northwest after crossing the Ohio River, to lay the foundations for a strong Lutheran element in the northwestern part of the state. Another stream of immigrants soon afterwards came in from Kentucky, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Most of these, too, so far as the Lutherans among them are concerned, were of Pennsylvania-German stock, their fathers and grandfathers having migrated to these southern states from the colony of Penn.

Thus practically all the earliest Lutherans in Ohio were of one stock, Pennsylvania-German. They were a sturdy, industrious, conservative, prolific race, much attached to their ancient customs and their mother-tongue. But one of their most striking characteristics was a simple-minded faith and a deep-seated piety (cf. T. E. Schmauk, *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 1). Their Lutheranism was not strongly confessional, as was that of the founders of the Buffalo and the Missouri Synods; but it was of the milder, unionistic type, the outgrowth of Halle pietism. To be sure, the struggle for existence on the frontier in some instances must have resulted in a weakening, if not a deadening, of spiritual life; but as a

¹ See Foreword for acknowledgment.

rule this was not the case. When the Pennsylvania-German moved out into a new country, he took his Bible, Starck's Prayer Book, hymnal, and catechism along, and the well-thumbed pages of such books, still held as priceless heirlooms by some of their descendants, bear witness to the fact that they were diligently used. Thus there was kept alive in them a real hunger for spiritual food, and the crying need of the Lutheran sons and daughters in the wilderness of Ohio was the cause for the coming of missionaries sent out by the Mother-Synod.

2. The Earliest Missionaries

But even before the Ministerium of Pennsylvania took any official action, there was at least one pastor who, laboring about the turn of the century in western Pennsylvania, made extensive missionary tours as early as 1800 or 1801 through the eastern counties of the territory. This was John Stauch, no doubt the first Lutheran pastor in Ohio, and later the first president of the Ohio Synod. Under his direction a log meeting-house was built in Unity township, Columbiana County, in 1803-1804, probably the first Lutheran church building in the state.²

In the summer of 1805, William George Forster was sent by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania as "travelling preacher" into the new state. He located in Fairfield County and labored there with great success for ten years. The next year, Paul Henkel received his first appointment as missionary to Ohio. He resided at the time at New Market, Va., from which point he made an extensive missionary tour that year through the southeastern part of Ohio, accompanied by his wife, and travelling in a two-wheeled cart or "gig." Several other missionary tours were made by this indefatigable worker during the following years, and, according to his journal, on one of

² Statement has been made in Chapter I, part C, section 5, that Good Hope Church, Osage, Jefferson County, Ohio, was the first Lutheran congregation in that state; see Burgess, *History of the Pittsburgh Synod*, page 62. But Dr. Buehring quotes from McCord's *History of Columbiana County*, page 332: "Religious meetings were held as early as 1802 at the house of Adam Rupert, Rev. John Stough (Stauch) being the preacher; and at the suggestion of Rev. Mr. Stough the people of the northern part of the township (Unity Twp.) united to build what was afterward known as the Salem or Union Church, to be used by the Lutheran and Reformed congregations. Accordingly, in 1803-1804 a log meeting house was built on the southwest corner of section 10."—Editor.

them he penetrated "twenty miles north of Springfield up the Mad River to the remotest white settlement, twenty miles from the Indian frontier, and preached in both the German and the English language." He never established a permanent residence in Ohio.

Other missionaries of that earliest period were Andrew Simon, Samuel Mau, Anton Weyer, G. Henry Weygandt, Jacob Leist, Henry Huet, John Reinhard and John Caspar Dill. All of these except the last named had received their training in Lutheran parsonages by "reading theology" under the direction of older pastors. Dill, however, was a graduate of the German University of Giessen and was a highly cultured gentleman. He labored in southwestern Ohio and eastern Indiana from 1815 to 1824, with his main congregations at Germantown and Miamisburg. All these men were connected with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania; but at least one missionary was sent into Ohio by the North Carolina Synod, namely, the Rev. Jacob Scherer, who came in 1813 and penetrated north as far as Dayton. However, he did not remain in Ohio.

3. The Special Conferences 1812-1818

In 1801 the Pennsylvania Ministerium resolved to divide its territory into districts, in which "special conferences" were to be held by the pastors, licensed candidates, and catechists at least once a year. The work of these conferences, besides the "spiritual exercises" prescribed by the constitution of the synod, and to which at least two hours must be devoted, was largely practical and had to do with the hearing of reports, the consideration of requests for ministerial supply, the assigning of fields of labor to candidates and catechists, the investigation of complaints, etc. There were seven districts named, number six of which was the "Western District" west of the Allegheny Mountains. It appears that this district did not begin to carry out the resolution referred to until 1812. In that year, on October 17, eight pastors and three lay delegates assembled in the church of G. Henry Weygandt in Washington County, Pa., to hold their first Special Conference. John Stauch of Columbiana County, Ohio, was elected president. A number of requests for pastoral services from various parts of Ohio were received and considered; but "the principal busi-

ness transacted," says Stauch in his autobiography with a fine touch of devotion, "was to offer up one of those soul-stirring, heart-edifying, and fervent prayers which seemed to penetrate the holy heavens and would, as it were, take no denial until the Great Shepherd would send able and efficient pastors to supply the lamentable destitution that prevailed in every direction, who would never leave the lambs to be scattered on the mountains."

After this, special conferences were held regularly at least once a year, either in western Pennsylvania or in Ohio, and it was not long until the frontier spirit of self-reliance and independence began to assert itself. In 1816 it was unanimously resolved to petition the mother-synod for authority to organize a separate "ministerium." The petition was submitted to the Seventieth Convention of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, held June 3 to 6, 1817, at Yorktown, Pa., by two delegates of the conference, Stauch and Schneider. The answer of the mother-synod is not entirely clear; but it is evident from the action of the Ohio brethren that they interpreted it as granting their request, for at their very next meeting they reorganized their "special conference" and henceforth called it the "General Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Preachers in the State of Ohio." At the same time, the most cordial relations continued to be maintained with the mother-synod, which shows that no rupture had taken place.

4. Organization of the Ohio Synod

Thus the church body later to be known as the "Joint Synod of Ohio" was organized at Somerset, Ohio, September 14, 1818. Ten clergymen, two "applicants," and eight lay delegates were present; seven pastors were absent. John Stauch was elected president; Paul Henkel, secretary; G. Henry Weygandt, treasurer. The constitution of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was adopted *in toto*, the only change being the name on the title page. The body at once went to work performing all the functions of a regularly constituted synod; it received reports, examined and licensed candidates and catechists and assigned them to their fields of labor, and it ordained three men, Leist, Reinhard, and Huet, to the ministry—no doubt the first Lutheran ordination west of the Allegheny mountains. For the protection of its congregations

against "tramp" preachers, an official seal was adopted and a description of it included in the minutes.

Synodical conventions were held annually. In 1825, the name "Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Adjacent States" appeared for the first time on the title page of the printed minutes; and in 1831, when the synod was divided into districts, the word "Joint" was inserted before the word "Synod."

5. Growth by Districts

When the synod was organized in 1818, it numbered seventeen clergymen and perhaps seventy-five congregations. Growth at first was slow, chiefly because of the pitiful lack of ministers. Nevertheless, by 1831 the synod had almost doubled in size and it was deemed advisable to subdivide it into two districts, mainly in order to meet more effectively the increasing missionary responsibilities in its territory. Thus the Eastern and Western districts came into being, each with authority to administer its own treasury, to examine and license candidates and catechists, and to carry on its own mission work. Originally, the districts were to meet annually except every third year, when all were to come together for a "joint" meeting of the entire synod (hence the name "Joint Synod").

From its very beginning the Ohio Synod was a bilingual body. Its minutes were always published in both English and German, at its annual conventions services were held in both languages, and among its members there were not a few who used the English language exclusively. In 1836, a number of the latter asked for permission to organize an English district within the bounds of the Ohio Synod. The petition was granted on condition that the new district receive no pastor as a member who denied that the articles of faith in the Augsburg Confession are the fundamental doctrines of the Lutheran Church, and that the district remain in connection with the Ohio Synod and refrain from uniting with any other synod without its consent. But already at its very next meeting some of the younger members showed dissatisfaction with the conservative position of the synod, and at the third convention of the district in 1840 ten members seceded and organized the "English Synod of Ohio," later called the "East Ohio Synod,"

which soon united with the General Synod. The minority consisting of five members reorganized at once and continued the original English district.

But there was more trouble ahead. The period from about 1830 to 1855 is marked in the history of the Ohio Synod by a steady advance in the direction of conservative Lutheranism, both in doctrine and practice. The English district, however, did not keep pace with that development; the majority of its clergy continued to hold more liberal views. Moreover, the decade of the forties had seen a most acrimonious language fight waged around the seminary, and the English brethren continued to feel a certain soreness long after the trouble had been settled. The climax came in 1854, when the English district through a majority of its delegates handed in a formal protest against "the position and spirit of the Joint Synod," accusing it of "intolerance, oppression, and inconsistency, as well as pursuing a ruinous policy with regard to our Church institutions." In spite of every effort to conciliate the brethren of the English district, they voted to withdraw from synod in 1855, only four pastors remaining true to synod. The seceding body continued to exist for some twelve or thirteen years, when it disbanded. After separating from the Ohio Synod it had at once united with the General Synod.

In 1858 the English district was once more reorganized, with the faithful minority as a nucleus. But almost from the very beginning there was trouble again. One of its members, Andrew Henkel, had published and circulated a pamphlet in which he severely criticized the position of the Joint Synod on the lodge question, and the synod protested to the district asking it to discipline the offender. This action the district resented as an interference with its rights, declaring that the Synod had only advisory powers over its districts. This same spirit of independence was manifested a few years later, when the English district voted to unite with the newly organized General Council (1867), in spite of the fact that the Joint Synod, of which it was a part, had found it impossible to do so, on account of the "Four Points." In 1869 a minority protested against the "high-handed and disloyal" action of the body and withdrew to organize under the same name. Public notice was given by the general officers of the synod that the

majority were no longer members of the Ohio Synod; but they continued down to 1920 to call their organization the "English District Synod of Ohio." In that year this body merged with three others to form the Ohio Synod of the United Lutheran Church. The real English district, however, since that time experienced no further difficulties, but grew to become one of the largest and most influential districts of the Joint Synod.

The Northern district came into being in 1851. It included the northern parts of Ohio and Indiana, and the state of Michigan. Its congregations were composed very largely of German immigrants and their descendants, and it was from the very beginning a stronghold of conservative Lutheranism. In 1858 the small Indianapolis Synod asked to be received into the Ohio Synod. The request was granted, and it became the Southern district. In 1879 it was merged with the Western district. Likewise, in 1876, the Concordia Synod was received and became the Concordia district. Its territory was south of Pennsylvania. In 1918 it was merged with the Eastern district.

While the Predestination controversy (cf. Chap. X, Sec. C) was raging between Missouri and Ohio, there met in April 1882 at Mt. Olive, Ill., a conference of 15 pastors, three teachers and three lay delegates. They were all members of the Missouri Synod, but found themselves in disagreement with Missouri's doctrine on Predestination. They accordingly resolved to withdraw and apply to the Ohio Synod for membership. They were received as the Northwestern district. Its territory included everything west, north and south of the then existing districts. The leading men were H. Allwardt and H. Ernst. The district grew so rapidly that in 1890 it was found advisable to divide it into four districts: the Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas-Nebraska, and Washington districts.

In 1891 there was organized in Texas a conference composed of six pastors who had withdrawn from the Texas Synod (General Council), and several others. The conference was received into the Ohio Synod as the Texas district. In 1906, under the leadership of Rev. George Gehrke the Canada conference was organized. Two years later it became the Canada district. In far off Australia the Joint Synod was

also represented for a number of years. The Australia district, consisting at the time of three pastors, eleven congregations and about eleven hundred communicants, was received in 1908. In 1926 it merged with two other synods to form the United Lutheran Church of Australia. The youngest district of the Joint Synod was the California district, which was organized in 1922.

At the time of the merger with the Iowa and Buffalo Synods, August 11, 1930, the Joint Synod reported eight hundred forty-seven pastors, 1034 congregations and mission stations, 283,855 baptized members, 181,568 communicant members (not including 5,500 baptized Christians in the foreign mission field in India). This membership was grouped in eleven districts covering twenty-eight states of the Union and five provinces of Canada.

6. Relation to Other Lutheran Bodies

The Ohio Synod was a daughter of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and throughout its earlier history it maintained a most friendly attitude toward the parent body. It was chiefly the influence of this synod that prevented Ohio from joining the General Synod 1820-1825, although it had adopted the "Proposed Plan" in 1819. In those early years the conservative Tennessee Synod also exerted a strong influence upon Ohio. At the time when the General Synod was going through the crisis brought on by the "Definite Platform," Ohio (together with the New York and Pennsylvania Ministeriums) was holding conferences with the young but vigorously conservative Missouri Synod (1856-1859), and the friendship thus engendered resulted in mutual recognition as orthodox Lutheran synods in 1866. In the same year, Ohio took part in the Reading convention looking toward the formation of the General Council; but when in the following year the first convention of that body failed to give a decisive answer to Ohio's questions on the "Four Points," its delegates declined to join the Council.

At once negotiations looking toward a federation of conservative Lutheran synods not connected with the Council were opened with Missouri, which culminated in the organization of the Synodical Conference in 1872. Ohio remained a

member of this body until 1881, when it withdrew as a result of the Predestination controversy.

In 1910 Ohio voted to establish pulpit and altar fellowship with Iowa on the basis of the Toledo Theses, and in 1928 similar fellowship was declared with the Norwegian Lutheran Church on the basis of the Minneapolis Theses. The same theses were made the basis of church fellowship with the Augustana Synod, the Lutheran Free Church, and the United Danish Church; and these bodies together with Ohio, Iowa, and Buffalo in 1930 organized The American Lutheran Conference at Minneapolis, Minn. Ohio was also represented since 1918 on the Intersynodical Committee, which has labored since that year toward establishing a basis for mutual recognition between the synods of the Synodical Conference and the synods now merged in the American Lutheran Church. The work of this committee has not yet been completed.

While no church fellowship had been established with the United Lutheran Church, Ohio coöperated with that church body and other synods in the work of the Lutheran Commission for Soldiers' and Sailors' Welfare, the National Lutheran Council, and the Lutheran Foreign and Home Missions Conferences. It also took an active part in the two Lutheran World Conventions.

7. Doctrinal Development

The founders of the Ohio Synod were men who wanted to be nothing but Lutherans. Any inconsistencies with that name were mistakes not of the heart but of the head. Lutheran consciousness in the earliest years was developed and strengthened especially by the Henkel family, and a little later by such men as Professor William Schmidt and "Bishop" Schweizerbarth. In the forties and fifties it was Lehmann and Loy who helped to place the synod on a sound confessional basis. An important factor during this period was the influence of the new Missouri Synod; another was the reawakening of confessionalism in Lutheran circles in Germany, which had its effect upon American Lutheranism through the literature imported and through a steady stream of German immigration that began to flow into our country about the middle of the century.

The original constitution adopted by the Ohio Synod in 1818 was that of the mother-synod of Pennsylvania. It contained no confessional paragraph whatever. Gradually, however, the need was felt to express in some way the Lutheran convictions which the members of the synod held with ever increasing clearness. Thus in 1831, when the constitution for the seminary was drafted, the following paragraph was included: "It is also the object of this institution to teach in the courses in theology the doctrines of our Church as they are contained in the Augsburg Confession and in the other symbolical books of our Church, purely and without any adulterations." The same convention also adopted a model constitution for congregations, which made it the duty of all pastors "to explain the Word of God according to the doctrine of the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." In 1836 the synod resolved to "adhere strictly to the Augsburg Confession and receive none in its connection who does not acknowledge any part of it." In 1848 a new constitution was adopted, which was in substance the constitution of the Pennsylvania Ministerium of 1841, but which specifically required all pastors publicly to acknowledge the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church as a correct exposition of the Word of God. Finally, in 1853, the synodical position practically held for some time was formally expressed in the following paragraph of the revised constitution:

"It (the Joint Synod) consists of delegates of those Evangelical Lutheran synods now connected with the existing Synod of Ohio, and of such as may from time to time accept this constitution and with us hold firmly the doctrines of God's Word according to the testimony of all the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, or which in their constitution confess and hold to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and the Small Catechism of Luther in the sense and spirit of the other symbols."

The last constitution of the Ohio Synod was adopted in 1882. Chapter II, taken almost verbatim from the Missouri Synod's constitution of 1854, reads as follows:

"Synod accepts all the canonical writings of the Old and New Testaments as the written Word of God, and the only rule and guide of faith and life, and also all the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as the pure and unadulterated ex-

planation and exposition of the Word of God, namely: The Apostles', the Nicene and the Athanasian Creed," etc.

A comparison of the above record with that of the other Eastern synods will show that except for the small Tennessee Synod, the Ohio Synod was the first to reach that conservative Lutheran position which today is held by all.

8. Educational Institutions

The Theological Seminary at Columbus, Ohio, was founded in 1830. William Schmidt, a graduate of the university of Halle, was its first professor. Other prominent leaders of the synod who also served as theological professors here were: William Lehmann, M. Loy, C. H. L. Schuette, George H. Schodde, F. W. Stelhorn, E. Pfeiffer, Theodore Mees, R. C. H. Lenski. At the centennial celebration in May 1930 it was reported that during the hundred years of its existence this seminary had prepared more than twelve hundred men for the Lutheran ministry. In 1850 the preparatory department of the seminary was expanded into a college, and the whole institution received the name, Capital University. Dr. W. M. Reynolds was its first president.

In 1881 a "Practical Department" was added to the seminary in Columbus. In 1884 this department was moved to Afton, Minn., and reorganized as Luther Seminary, with the Rev. H. Ernst as its first professor. In 1892 it was moved to St. Paul, Minnesota, where it was the theological department of St. Paul-Luther College until 1932. From this seminary have come most of the pastors of the Ohio Synod in the territory west of Chicago.

Two other seminaries were maintained by the Ohio Synod for a period of years, one at Hickory, N. C., 1886-1912, the other at Olympia, Wash., 1906-1917.

In 1882 the synod took over a training school for parochial school teachers which had been founded by the Rev. G. Cronenwett at Woodville, Ohio. Woodville Normal School flourished for a number of years; but with the waning of interest in the parochial school in many of the congregations the institution was finally compelled to close its doors. In 1924 the synod resolved to transfer its various departments to other institutions.

Hebron College and Academy, Hebron, Nebr., was founded as an academy in 1911. It prospered from the very beginning, and in 1924 was expanded into a Junior College. Another academy was opened in January 1914 in Melville, Sask., Canada. In 1924 it was moved to Regina, Sask., and enlarged into a Junior College. It, too, is in a flourishing condition. St. John's Academy was opened at Petersburg, W. Va., in 1921, and enlarged into a Junior College in 1931.

In 1930 the total number of professors and teachers in all the educational institutions of the Ohio Synod was one hundred forty-two, and the total number of students enrolled was 1622.

9. Institutions of Mercy

Wernle Orphans' Home was opened at Richmond, Ind., in 1879. Through the generosity of several laymen the St. John's Home for the Aged was established at Wood's Run, Allegheny (Pittsburgh) Pa., in 1893. It was moved to Mars, Pa., in 1903 and an Orphans' Home was added. Another Old Folk's Home, also called St. John's, is located at Springfield, Minn. A modest hospital is operated in connection with it. In 1918 the Grace Lutheran Sanatorium of San Antonio, Texas, was turned over to the synod by its owners free from debt. It has been doing a blessed work for sufferers from tuberculosis, and a considerable amount of charity work is made possible by the annual sale of Christmas seals. There is also a small home for the aged at Melville, Sask. The total number of inmates in all institutions of mercy in 1930 was six hundred thirty-eight.

10. Publication Matters

The first books published by the Ohio Synod were in the English language, viz., a translation of the Augsburg Confession, an English Catechism, and an English liturgy. These were ordered printed in 1830. The *Lutheran Standard* started its career in 1842, the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* in 1859. The rise of the Predestination controversy created the need for theological magazines in both languages. The *Columbus Theological Magazine*, founded by Dr. M. Loy in 1881, was taken over by the synod in 1882, and at the same time a German magazine, the *Theologische Zeitblaetter*, was begun with Dr. F. W. Stelhorn as editor. In 1910 the two were combined as the *Zeitblaetter-Magazine*, which was discontinued in April

1919, after the death of Dr. Stelhorn. In January 1923 *The Pastor's Monthly* made its first appearance.

The Lutheran Book Concern of Columbus, Ohio, was established in 1878. Under the direction of a synodical publication board it published not only the regular periodicals of the synod, but also a large number of Lutheran books, both in English and German. Its assets total approximately \$500,000.

11. Missions

The Joint Synod of Ohio is in a very real sense the fruit of home missions. The work was carried on by the districts until 1884, when a central Home Missions Board was organized. At this time there were in the employ of the synod fourteen missionaries, and the total appropriation for their support was \$2,225 per year. Since then the work expanded very rapidly, first in the new rural sections of the West and Northwest, then in Canada, and finally in our larger cities. In 1928 the Board supported one hundred thirty missionaries with an annual outlay of about \$150,000. The Board also administered a Church and Parsonage Building Fund, which at the time of the merger (1930) had assets totaling \$650,730.

The first attempt at Negro mission work was made 1877 in conjunction with the other synods in the Synodical Conference. In 1892 a Board of Negro Missions was established, which took over the work begun by local pastors in Baltimore, Md., and vicinity. In 1915 work was begun in the "black belt" of the South where a number of stations were opened in Alabama and Mississippi.

The Joint Synod of Ohio was practically a hundred years old before it had a foreign mission of its own, but almost from the very beginning its congregations contributed to the support of other foreign mission agencies, both in this country and abroad. Friendly relations with the Hermannsburg Mission Society of Germany led in 1912 to the purchase of two stations of that society in its field in the Madras Presidency of British India. The exigencies of the World War caused the temporary transfer of this entire field to the Ohio Synod, and the transfer was made permanent in 1929-1930. In 1930 the Board reported twelve male missionaries and their wives on the field. In addition there were four single women missionaries.

These were assisted by three ordained Indian pastors, about sixty-five deacons and catechists, and some one hundred fifty teachers. The total number of baptized Christians was 5500, of whom 4000 were communicants. A fine modern hospital was opened in 1930 at Renigunta, the gift of the Women's Missionary Conference.

In 1924 the synod took over the mission work among the Mexican immigrants along the southern border of Texas, which had been begun by the Texas district. In 1930 there were one American ordained missionary, one woman missionary, and one ordained Mexican pastor on the field, assisted by several other native workers.

Biographical Notes

Prof. W. F. Lehmann was for many years influential in the synod. After Prof. Winkler's resignation he was for thirty-four years the head of the seminary in Columbus and also a member of the college faculty. In 1859 he became editor-in-chief of *Die Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, which position he held until his death. He was not a polemical, but rather an irenic writer, cautious and deliberate in his method. Born at Markkroningen, Wuerttemberg, in 1820, he came with his parents to Philadelphia as a mere lad of four. Pastor Demme took an interest in him, and sent him to Columbus, where he studied theology amid the privations of extreme poverty, living on forty-six cents per week, sleeping on sacks filled with straw, and subsisting on corn-bread and potatoes. In 1840 he took charge of eight congregations in Fairfield County, Ohio, and later had a successful pastorate at Somerset, Ohio. In 1847 he began his long and honorable career as professor in the seminary at Columbus. His death occurred in 1880.

Prof. Matthias Loy, D. D. (1828-1915). Probably the strongest personal influence in the settlement of the doctrinal positions of the Joint Synod was that of Dr. Loy. Born in Pennsylvania March 17, 1828, of a Roman Catholic father and a Lutheran mother, and reared in lowly circumstances, he came as a young man to Ohio, graduating from the seminary in 1849. The only pastorate he ever served was at Delaware, Ohio. From 1866 until he became Professor Emeritus in 1903, he was continuously a professor in both the college and the seminary at Columbus. He was always the exponent of positive confessionalism, and in a practical way exercised his influence chiefly as the editor of *The Lutheran Standard* from 1864 to 1891 and of the *Columbus Theological Magazine* from 1881 to 1888. He published a series of

useful books, among them, *Sermons on the Gospels*, *Sermons on the Epistles*, *The Christian Ministry*, *The Christian Church*, *Christian Prayer*, *The Doctrine of Justification*, *The Augsburg Confession*, *The Sermon on the Mount*. The details of his career are recited in a graphic manner in his *Story of My Life* (1908). He died in 1915.

Prof. F. W. Stellhorn, D. D. (1841-1919). The subject of this sketch was born in Hannover October 2, 1841, and was educated at Fort Wayne and St. Louis, the chief institutions of the Missouri Synod. After serving pastorates in St. Louis and Indiana, he became professor in Northwestern College at Watertown, Wis., in 1869, and in Concordia College, Ft. Wayne, in 1874. In 1881 as a result of the Predestination controversy, he severed his connection with the Missouri Synod and accepted a position in the college and seminary of the Ohio Synod at Columbus. For a number of years he was editor of *Die Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, and he was the sole editor of *Theologische Zeitblaetter* since it was established in 1882. He published commentaries on the Gospels, the Acts, the Pastoral Epistles, and Romans. He also wrote a Greek Lexicon and an exegetico-catechetical work entitled "*Der Schriftbeweis des Lutherischen Katechismus*." He was professor of Dogmatics, Ethics, and Exegesis in the seminary. He died in 1919.

Pastor H. A. Allwardt, D. D., was born March 2, 1840, at Wachendorf, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and came to America in 1853. He studied in the practical seminary of the Missouri Synod (1858), the college at Fort Wayne and the seminary at St. Louis. He was pastor at Crystal Lake, Wis. (1865-1873), and at Lebanon, Wis. (1874-1910). In the Predestination controversy, he was one of the first to raise his voice against Walther's doctrine, and in 1881 he was suspended. He then united with the Ohio Synod and served as president of the Northwestern district until 1899. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Capital University in 1898. He was president of the board of Luther Seminary at Afton and later at St. Paul, Minn., from 1884 to 1910. He continued his battle against Missouri, especially at inter-synodical conferences (1903-1906) until his death. He was one of the signers of the "Toledo Theses" of 1907. His death occurred in the midst of his labors April 9, 1910.

President C. H. L. Schuette, D. D., was born in Vorrel, Hannover, June 17, 1843, and came to America in 1854. He received his classical and theological training at Capital University, graduating from the seminary in 1865. His only pastorate was at Delaware, Ohio. In 1872 he became professor of Mathematics at Capital University, and in 1880 he was made theological professor.

In 1894 he was elected the first salaried president of the Joint Synod, and served in that capacity until 1924, when he was made President Emeritus. He collected more than \$400,000 for the educational work of his synod. He was the author of *A Church Member's Manual; State, Church, and School; Before the Altar* (a work on liturgics), and *Exercises Unto Godliness*, as well as of numerous articles in the theological magazines of the synod. He was one of the organizers of the National Lutheran Council and served as its president for several years. He died August 11, 1926.

Prof. R. C. H. Lenski, D. D., was born at Greifenberg, Pomerania, September 14, 1864, and came to America in 1872. He received his collegiate and theological training at Capital University, Columbus, and was ordained to the ministry on Christmas 1887. He served pastorates in Baltimore, Md., Trenton, Springfield, and Anna, Ohio, and came to Capital University as theological professor in 1911. For a number of years he was president of the Western district, and he was editor-in-chief of *Die Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* for twenty years, in addition to being a frequent contributor to theological magazines. He is the author of *Eisenach Gospels*, *Eisenach Epistles*, *Eisenach Old Testament Selections*, *New Gospel Selections*, *St. Paul*, *St. John*, *The Active Church Member*, *Biblische Frauenbilder*, *His Footsteps*, *Kings and Priests*, *The Sermon*, *The Interpretation*, an extensive critical commentary on the entire New Testament, now in preparation. He is professor of systematic theology and has been dean of the seminary since 1920.

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B. THE BUFFALO SYNOD³

1. Origin and Early Pastors

In the year 1839, about eight months after the emigration of the Saxons under Stephan, J. A. A. Grabau emigrated to America with his congregations from Erfurt and Magdeburg. Among his members was H. von Rohr, a former officer of the Prussian army. Later on, H. von Rohr became a pastor and one of the founders of the Buffalo Synod.

³ See Foreword for acknowledgment.

J. A. A. Grabau, pastor of a United Prussian State Church at Erfurt since 1834, had felt that a union between the Lutheran and the Reformed Church was false because of the essential differences in doctrine. At his ordination, he had been pledged to all the confessions of the Lutheran Church, at his installation he was advised to stress similarities in the two churches. Grabau, however, deemed himself bound to the Lutheran confessions. He became more and more convinced that the Lutheran confessions contained the pure truth of the Word of God and that his conscience would not permit him to use the Agenda of the Prussian Church. He realized that this Agenda denied the historical doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Therefore, in the year 1836, he began to fight against the Union. He declared to his church government that he would not use the Agenda any longer, but would readopt the old Lutheran form of worship. He was immediately removed from his office.

When Pastor Grabau decidedly adhered to his confession and continued to serve the members that remained loyal to the Lutheran faith, he was imprisoned like other Lutheran pastors of that period. At that time his congregations at Erfurt and Magdeburg, suffering also from state persecution, urged emigration to America where religious freedom was possible. Because Grabau still cherished the hope of gaining freedom for the Lutheran church in Prussia, he resisted this movement. "As long as we dare hope for this," he said, "it would be wrong to emigrate." A petition for religious freedom from the Lutherans, causing King Frederick William III to declare that he would tolerate the Lutheran Church only within the United Church, made Grabau consent to the plan of emigration.

This plan was carried out in the fall of 1839, when Grabau left the old country with his congregations. They arrived in New York in September. A small part of the congregations remained in New York, where they organized as Lutherans and called Candidate M. Oertel as pastor. After a short time Oertel left the congregation and went over to the Roman Church. The congregation then called P. Brohm, who joined the Missouri Synod later. But the greater part of these Prussian Lutherans went to Buffalo, N. Y., where they arrived on the fifth of October. Some forty families went on to Wisconsin. A few stayed at Milwaukee; the rest went

farther into unsettled country as pioneers and founded the colony Freistadt, (which was about 16 miles north-west of Milwaukee).

The Lutherans from Pomerania and Uckermark (Brandenburg), with whom Grabau had been in close contact, were gathered into congregations by Pastors Kindermann and Ehrenstroem. It was hoped that they would also emigrate. But the king, Frederick William III, died on the seventh of June, 1840, (the same day that the new church of the Prussian Lutherans at Buffalo, N. Y., was dedicated), and the new king, Frederick William IV, did not pursue his father's policy of religious persecution. Lutherans were given a certain amount of religious freedom; the emigration, which had, by this time, become general, was discontinued, the more so because the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Prussia (Breslau Synod), to which the congregations of Pomerania and Uckermark belonged, had taken a definite stand against emigration.

Although Lutherans now had freedom of worship, there was yet another restriction. They were compelled to send their children into the state schools which were under the jurisdiction of the United Church of Prussia. Most of the Lutherans submitted to this order, but the adherents of Kindermann and Ehrenstroem were not willing to send their children into the state schools, because they considered this a falling away from the Lutheran confession. They had also lost their confidence in the Breslau Synod. They took offense at its church government because this synod allowed laymen to do pastoral work and congregations to share in the administration of the Office of the Keys. Its warning against emigration was looked upon as a chiliastic error. At first Kindermann and Ehrenstroem submitted to the resolutions of the Breslau Synod, but their congregations were decidedly opposed to them. In consequence thereof Kindermann and Ehrenstroem left the Breslau Synod and decided to emigrate with their congregations to America. The Breslauers did everything in their power to prevent the emigration. They removed Kindermann from the ministry, and forbade fellowship with those who were bound to emigrate. But the congregations remained true to their cause. Toward the end of 1843 two groups were formed for emigration. The Pomeranians embarked several ships at Stettin,

the Ukermarkers travelled via Hamburg. Rev. Ehrenstroem was not allowed to accompany his congregations. He was arrested by the Prussian police on account of his incendiary sermons against the Prussian State Church, but after one year he sailed also.

Pastor Kindermann and his congregations from Pomerania went to Wisconsin and settled a few miles northwest of Freistadt. They called their settlement Kirchhayn. Pastor Ehrenstroem's congregation settled between Buffalo and Niagara Falls where they founded Bergholz, Wallmore, and Martinsville. Rev. Kindermann died at Kirchhayn in 1856. Rev. Krause was pastor at Freistadt.

2. Organization and Controversies

Already in 1840 Grabau sent a pastoral letter to the vacant congregations to warn them against those men who might offer themselves as ministers without being regularly called. This pastoral letter was also sent to St. Louis because Grabau was thinking of a union between the Prussians and the Saxons. In this letter, Walther, the leader of the Saxons, found hierarchic ideas from which the Saxons had freed themselves after harsh and humiliating experiences. Thus the pastoral letter was the cause of the bitter controversy about church and office between the Buffalonians and Missourians (cf. Chap. X, Sec. A). The discord resulted in the founding of Missouri congregations in the field of the Buffalo Synod. This act roused Buffalo Synod so much that further dissension became extremely bitter.

During these stirring times the Buffalo Synod was organized. In 1845 the first synodical meeting was held at Milwaukee and Freistadt, Wisconsin, from the 12th to the 25th of June. Four ministers and eighteen laymen were present. The ministers were: Grabau from Buffalo, Kindermann from Kirchhayn, Krause from Freistadt, and H. von Rohr from Humberston, Canada. Rev. Brohm of New York was invited, but declined the invitation because his friends at St. Louis were not invited. The new synod called itself "Synod of the Lutheran Church which Emigrated from Prussia"; later, "Synod of the Lutherans who Emigrated from Prussia." Because the headquarters of the synod were at Buffalo, N. Y.,

it was called Buffalo Synod. This name was accepted later as the official one.

In 1853 the synod sent Grabau and von Rohr to Germany to collect money for the building of a seminary and to submit the cause of the Buffalo Synod against Missouri to the Lutheran church in Germany.

For a short time Grabau was on friendly terms with the Iowa Synod. Some congregations around Madison, Wis., were put in charge of the Iowa Synod, and Pastors Sigmund Fritschel and J. Doerfler were called by congregations of the Buffalo Synod at Detroit, Mich., and Toledo, Ohio. These two pastors joined the Buffalo Synod. But the friendly relations did not last. About 1857 a controversy arose between Missouri and Iowa about chiliasm and Antichrist. In this controversy Buffalo sympathized with Missouri. Then Rev. Fritschel resigned at Detroit and went to Dubuque. Rev. Doerfler remained at Toledo, but the congregation withdrew from the Buffalo Synod. The alliance with the Iowa Synod came to naught.

The Buffalo Synod remained small. The main reasons that it did not grow like other synods were: the strict observance of private confession; the strict church discipline; and the firm stand of the synod against secret societies.

3. Seminary and Liturgy

Already in 1840, Pastor Grabau founded a school in order to train young men for the ministry. Soon synod took charge of this school, which developed into the Martin Luther Seminary (built in 1854). Since the synod remained small, the seminary also remained small, but it served the purpose adequately. During the last years the seminary had three professors: R. Grabau, dean; H. Leupold; and E. Denef. Nine students attended during the last year of its existence. In June, 1929, the seminary was closed on account of the pending merger with Ohio and Iowa. The Buffalo Synod had an official German and English organ, *Wachende Kirche*, started in 1866, and the *Forward*, started in 1914. Both were discontinued in 1929.

Pastor Grabau compiled a hymnal for the congregations of his synod. This hymnal is still used by the old congrega-

tions of the synod. The Buffalo Synod also had a beautiful ritual in which the pastor sang the liturgy.

4. The Disruption of the Buffalo Synod

In 1866 a schism, which was the result of a dissension between Grabau and Pastor Hochstetter (championed by von Rohr) occurred in the Buffalo Synod. Each group claimed to be the true Buffalo Synod. The group that adhered to von Rohr was by far the greater one. In the fall of 1866 after a colloquy with the Missouri Synod, Hochstetter and eleven other ministers accepted its doctrine. Pastor von Rohr and a few others did not. Thus it happened that there were three Buffalo synods: the old synod under von Rohr, the new synod of which Rev. Hochstetter was the guiding spirit, and the new synod under Grabau. The Missourian Buffalo Synod, assembling on the 25th and 26th of February, 1867, in the Martin Luther Seminary, declared itself the true Buffalo Synod and made peace with Missouri, with the exception of one minister. It never met again as an independent body. Soon afterward it dissolved and joined the Missouri Synod. Rev. von Rohr died in 1874 and within three years the old Buffalo Synod was disorganized. All ministers with one exception joined the Wisconsin Synod. Rev. von Rohr's son, Philip, became very influential, not only in the Wisconsin Synod, but also, later on, in the Synodical Conference. Martin Luther Seminary became the property of the new Buffalo Synod under Rev. Grabau.

5. Polity and Doctrines

In the year 1886, the Buffalo Synod first drew up a constitution. Up to this time it had had none. It had simply adopted as much of the old Pomeranian and the Saxonian church orders as necessary. With the new constitution, many of the old peculiarities were silently dropped. The synod, extending from western New York to Minnesota, was divided into eastern and western conferences, which met twice a year. The synod assembled every three years and toward the last every two years. The Office of the Senior Ministerii, which had been elected by the pastors of the synod, was dropped after the new constitution was accepted. In its place a president was elected by the synod.

Opposed to Missouri, Buffalo stressed the Ordination as being an essential part (although not absolutely necessary) of the *rite vocatus* of the Augsburg Confession. Buffalo defined the church as the body of Christ, invisible, according to its inner glory; visible, as congregational believers gather around the pure Word and sacraments.

6. Characteristics and Strength in 1930

The old Buffalo Synod was just as strict as the Missouri Synod in questions of doctrine and practice. The pastors were pledged to the whole Book of Concord. Private confession was exclusively observed. Only after 1893 was general confession permitted. Gross sins were punished by excommunication. Offenders who repented were received again into membership if they asked for pardon before their congregation. Lodge members were not tolerated until 1918, at which time this strict attitude was abandoned. Parochial schools were considered absolutely necessary.

When, on the eleventh of August, 1930, the Buffalo Synod merged with Ohio and Iowa to form the American Lutheran Church, it had thirty-eight pastors, one missionary working among the Kurds, two professors, forty-eighty congregations, eleven thousand baptized members, seven to eight thousand communicants.

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C. THE SYNOD OF IOWA AND ADJACENT STATES⁴**1. The Origin of the Iowa Synod**

The great tide of immigration, which flooded this country toward the middle of the nineteenth century, pushed the frontier rapidly into Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and westward. Large numbers of Germans were to be found in the new settlements. For the most part they were without pastoral care. The synods then in existence were too weak to undertake such a gigantic task as the spiritual ministry in the west presented. To such a vast field the Ministerium of Pennsylvania sent Pastor Wyneken as travelling missionary (cf. Chap. IX, Sec. 8, 9). With tireless zeal, amid many hardships, this man did a heroic piece of work in organizing congregations and administering the means of grace. In 1841 he returned to Germany, partly for medical treatment for his throat and partly to arouse interest in his missionary work in America.

He visited and secured the interest of prominent men, notably Wilhelm Loehe in Bavaria. Missionary zeal was aroused, men and money were provided for the work. On his return to America Wyneken soon withdrew from mission work, but the men sent by Loehe assumed the task. From this time on, Loehe supported and directed the work. He never came to America but his influence and judgments directed the activity of the men who formed the Iowa Synod.

The first men (Burger and Ernst) sent by Loehe had received only a preliminary training in Germany. When they reached America they were induced to finish their training in the seminary of the Ohio Synod at Columbus. In this way they became connected with the Ohio Synod. Others whom Loehe sent, following this precedent, also joined this synod. The Loehe men working in Michigan remained independent, however. At the time of the linguistic and doctrinal controversy that raged about the Ohio Synod seminary in the early forties, the Loehe men withdrew. They with their Michigan brethren joined with the Saxons in Missouri to form the Missouri Synod, whose first convention was held in 1847 at Chicago.

⁴ See Foreword for acknowledgment.

Though the work of the Missouri Synod was remarkably successful, and its growth phenomenal, differences soon arose between the synod and Loehe. The synod was under the influence of that magnetic personality, Dr. C. F. W. Walther, whose theory of the ministerial office was considered too democratic by Loehe. Even though Wyneken and Walther went to Germany to confer with Loehe personally, the differences were not adjusted. Actual rupture, however, occurred in 1853. At Loehe's direction a school for training parochial teachers had been opened at Saginaw, Michigan. He was asked to transfer the control of the school to the synod. When he declined to do this, Wyneken, then president of the synod, wrote asking either that the school be closed or that it be removed to some state where the Missouri Synod had no congregations, the state of Iowa being suggested.

In this trouble there remained loyal to Loehe but two pastors, Rev. George Grossmann, the head of the school, and Rev. John Deindoerfer, pastor at Frankenhilf. Since harmony with the Missouri Synod pastors in Michigan was impossible, it was resolved, with the consent of Loehe, to move to Iowa. Pastor Deindorfer and a Mr. Gottlieb Amman went to Iowa and located suitable territory sixty miles northwest of Dubuque. A party of twenty-two Loehe adherents migrated in September, 1853. They reached Dubuque in such destitute circumstances that some could go no further. The others, under the leadership of Deindoerfer and Amman, continued to the vicinity of Strawberry Point, where they founded the settlement of "St. Sebald near the spring." Here, especially during the first winter, they endured the hardships and privations of frontier life.

Rev. Grossmann opened a seminary in Dubuque with seven students. In 1854 two more pastors, Sigmund Fritschel and Michael Schueller, arrived from Germany, the former becoming Grossmann's assistant in the seminary. On August 24, 1854, these four pastors met at St. Sebald and organized the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa. The first years of this synod were years of the greatest privations, and more than once it seemed as if it could not live. Loehe had lost prestige in Bavaria and was in strained financial circumstances. The trouble in America had dampened the interest

of the mission's friends. In consequence of this he could not supply the funds needed to carry on the mission in Iowa successfully. Retrenchment became necessary, and Sigmund Fritschel accepted a call to Platteville, Wis., where he had organized a Lutheran congregation, and for a few weeks the seminary was suspended until funds came making it possible to continue the work.

2. Growth of the Synod

Missionary work was done in the vicinity of Dubuque and congregations were organized at Sherrill's Mount, St. Donatus, Iowa, Platteville, Wis., Menominee, Galena and Rush Creek (now Derinda), Ill. In September, 1855, Pastor Grabau came to Dubuque with the request that the Iowa Synod take over the work at and near Madison, Wis., which had been begun by the Buffalo Synod, but for which they had no pastors. Also, the following year, Rev. Sigmund Fritschel accepted a call to a Buffalo Synod congregation at Detroit. He took the senior class of the seminary with him and together they did missionary work in Marine City (Newport), St. Clair and Port Huron, Mich., thus opening another field for the young synod. Rev. John Doerfler was called to the Buffalo Synod congregation at Toledo in 1857. New men, who had been sent by Loehe from Germany, were: John Doerfler, 1855; J. J. Schmidt (Indian missionary) and Burk in 1856; J. List and Gottfried Fritschel in 1857. On account of the high cost of living in a city the synod removed the seminary to a farm near St. Sebald where a part of the provisions could be raised. Grossmann and the older students built a substantial frame house, which, until 1874, accommodated the students and the two professors with their families.

When doctrinal differences arose between Iowa and Buffalo, and the latter sided with Missouri in the conflict with Iowa over Chiliasm, a break occurred between the two synods. The Iowa Synod recalled S. Fritschel to the seminary, where he remained until his death. Doerfler's congregation in Toledo joined the Iowa Synod with him.

The Iowa Synod grew, at first slowly, but eventually at a rapid rate. Yet it took many a year until it had outlived its financial troubles. Instead of selling the seminary property

at Dubuque when it was vacated, it was held in the hope of getting a better price. Instead there came a crash in real estate prices and the property could not be sold at all. More than that, a debt of \$6,000 rested upon it. To save the synod from bankruptcy, Prof. S. Fritschel was sent to Germany to raise funds. He was cordially received and aroused an interest in the mission work of the Iowa Synod that lasted for many decades. A lady named Fraeulein Auguste von Schwarz volunteered to take over the position of the matron in the seminary and devoted the remainder of her life to its interests. When Prof. Fritschel finally returned in 1861 the debt had been lifted and the beginning of an endowment fund had been made.

By 1873 the synod had grown to such an extent geographically that it became necessary to divide it into districts. At first only two districts were organized, an eastern and a western. Later more were authorized. At this meeting the synod also declared itself as to the doctrinal differences between Iowa and Missouri, and presented its views in the Davenport Theses (see Appendix of 2nd Ed.). The constitution was likewise revised and the terminology of the ordination formula was substituted for the "Stiftungsparagraphen." Since the seminary had outgrown its quarters, an offer of Dr. Passavant to secure for the synod the buildings of a defunct college at Mendota, Ill., was accepted. The removal of the seminary in 1874 opened a large missionary territory for the synod in northern Illinois.

In 1875 the synod had crossed the hundred mark in the number of pastors, and having overcome the internal disharmony it grew rapidly in the following years. At the Silver anniversary of 1879 Inspector John Deinzer came from Germany as a representative of the mission friends who supported the work of the synod. The support which he promised and which was given in succeeding decades was of great importance at a time when immigration from Germany assumed large proportions and poured into the synod's territory. In its missionary work the synod was aided especially by a supply of young men sent to the seminary from Hessia (Rev. Schedtler at Dreihausen), Mecklenburg (Gotteskasten), Hannover, and later Pastor Janssen (Strackholt).

3. Controversies

The Iowa Synod had many reasons for cultivating friendly relations with the synods of Missouri and Buffalo. But differences existed in doctrinal matters. Criticism of their position in the papers of the Missouri Synod caused some of the younger members of the Iowa Synod to become doubtful as to the correctness of their synod's position. Hence Prof. S. Fritschel was sent to Germany, not only to represent the synod at the silver anniversary of Loehe's training school at Neuendettelsau, but also to consult those German theologians that were still recognized by Missouri as orthodox in regard to the controversies. The university of Rostock declined to give an opinion, but the professors at Christiania and Dorpat and Doctors Harless, Luthardt, Muenkel and Guericke gave their opinions and constructively reviewed the position of the Iowa Synod. Their views and advice were submitted to the next synod (Toledo, 1866) together with a paper on the topic, "What is essential to church unity?" (See the Theses in Deindoerfer's *Geschichte*, page 127.) On the basis of these criticisms the synod somewhat amended its position.

Having thus modified its former declarations, the Iowa Synod hoped that an understanding might be reached with the Missouri Synod and proposed that a colloquy be held. The meeting was held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, November 13-18, 1867. Iowa was represented by President Grossmann, G. and S. Fritschel and Mr. Becker. The Missourians sent Prof. Walther, Pastors Sihler, Huegli and Hochstetter. It was agreed to begin with the question of the symbols, whether every word of the symbols was obligatory. The two parties reached an agreement, by which both declared that all the obligatory doctrines of faith contained in the confessions must be so considered. Then the doctrine of the "Last Things" came up for discussion. Iowa denied that it as a synod had established a definite doctrine concerning Chiliasm. It was maintained that merely the fact of Christ's return was essential, and that they would not venture to express any opinion in regard to the manner of it. Any interpretation which did not square with the analogy of faith must be rejected. This satisfied Walther, who declared that, while he considered the subtle Chiliasm of Spener, Brenz, et. al., erroneous, he would

class it among things problematical. As long as the matter was submitted "problematic," the case was not necessarily heretical. Thus there was a general rapprochement. But the interpretation of Rev. 20:4, 5 led them apart. They could not agree as to whether the resurrection mentioned there was of a physical or spiritual nature. As the delegates of Iowa had to attend the first convention of the General Council, the negotiations came to a close. (cf. Chap. X, Sec. B.)

In the great controversy on predestination the Iowa Synod soon took a position against the views as proposed by Dr. Walther holding them to be a deviation from the old Lutheran doctrine. (Theses discussed at St. Sebald, 1881, and at Dubuque, 1882). Many articles in the *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* discussed the doctrine from many viewpoints. (Cf. Chap. X, Sec. C.)

4. Relations to Other Lutheran Bodies

Iowa likewise sought friendly relations with the neighboring synods of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Illinois, especially after these synods had joined the General Council. That these synods had gradually receded from their indefinite and unionistic basis to constructive Lutheranism was to some extent due to Iowa's influence. But if the strict doctrinal position of the Missouri Synod influenced even the members of the Iowa Synod, it can be easily understood that they should begin to view Iowa's moderate position as merely "half-way" Lutheran and would look for union with the powerful Missouri Synod.

The Synod of Iowa had observed with satisfaction the growth of Lutheran consciousness in the district synods of the General Synod. After the break of 1866, it had participated in the discussions at Reading, Pa., and at Fort Wayne, Ind., in 1867, approving, as did Ohio and Missouri, the confessional basis proposed for the organization of the General Council. It had decided to join the new body. But when the Council refused to declare itself upon the "Four Points" proposed by the Ohio Synod, it subsequently reversed its decision. However it continued to sustain fraternal relations in the hope that the Council would soon draw the practical consequences from its confessional statements. Without stepping into real membership it received the right of speech but not of vote

in the deliberations of that body. According to Dr. Krauth's explicit statement, the progress made towards conservative Lutheranism was due in not a small measure to the influence of Iowa's representatives. Iowa coöperated in many ways with the Council. Instead of issuing a hymn book, almost ready for publication, it took part in the composition of the *Kirchenbuch*. S. Fritschel was one of the leading members of the committee on Church Forms. In the *Theologische Monatshefte* of Brobst, the brothers Fritschel contributed important articles on the questions of the day. And afterwards the *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* of the Iowa Synod was read by many members of the Council.

After the Joint Synod of Ohio had withdrawn from the Synodical Conference, endeavors were made to bring about a rapprochement of the two synods. Ohio's representatives agreed to the theses proposed by Gottfried Fritschel at a meeting at Richmond, Ind. However, there was not yet sufficient sentiment in the synods for an alliance, and nothing was done. In 1887 Ohio proposed that a colloquium be held, which took place in 1893 in Michigan City, Ind. But the theses adopted there did not find approval in either synod. However, the theses were revised at a meeting in 1909 at Toledo, Ohio, and then adopted by both synods. A friendly relation, with the exchange of delegates, resulted until the Ohio Synod proposed a merger of the two synods in Pittsburgh in 1924. A number of seemingly insurmountable obstacles were gradually overcome, and in 1930 the synods of Buffalo, Iowa and Ohio merged in the American Lutheran Church.

5. The Crisis of 1875

Two factions developed within the synod. The one faction was composed of men who had come from Neuendettelsau and whose ideal was that the synod should represent the personal views of the Neuendettelsau leaders. These interpreted the Davenport Theses as an attempt to surrender to the Missouri theology. On the other hand, the other faction were in favor of following the example of the Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois and Ohio Synods and become an ally of Missouri. When the differences between the two factions became pronounced there was something of a literary war and personal considerations entered the issue. Some of the Neuendettelsau faction

were admonished by "Inspektor" Bauer, their teacher in Germany, to insist upon a restoration of the "original position" of the Iowa Synod and to repudiate the Davenport theses. At the Madison, Wis., meeting of 1875 the synod adopted the Madison Theses, declaring its adherence to its original position, according to which as an organization it placed itself on the general Lutheran basis. The two Fritschels, Gottlieb and Sigmund, were instructed to present the documentary proof in the *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (reprinted under the title *Iowa and Missouri*).

6. Characteristics

In respect to organization the Iowa Synod was congregational. The aid of synodical officers might be solicited, but the congregation was supreme in its own affairs. The synod had only advisory power, its only alternative being that it could discontinue fellowship with a congregation, if it was unwilling to reform any abuses which affected other congregations or the synod. The different congregations, together with their pastors, constituted the synod, at whose gatherings congregations that had formally passed a resolution to join were represented by their pastor ex officio and a lay delegate. All congregations not formally connected were represented by the pastor ex officio, and might send a delegate who had the right of the floor, but no vote. Since 1888 the synod met triennially as a convention of delegates. At these meetings all general matters, such as missions, publications, institutions, etc., were submitted for discussion and directions by the respective officers. The financial affairs were taken care of by a system of voluntary contributions. All congregations had agreed to take collections for specific objects on certain days.

Supervision over the work and life of the pastors and congregations was provided for by visitations which were to be made every four years by the president or a special officer. Detailed instructions for these can be found in an "Order of Visitation" given by Deindoerfer, pages 280-284. Special investigations were made when demanded. Appeal could be taken to the district and the synod, but the decision was binding only when accepted by all concerned.

The synod from its earliest days adopted the Agenda which Loehe had published. Private confession in addition to

public confession was emphasized, and those that wished to join a congregation in the first years were required to undergo an examination and a time of probation which was called the catechumenate. But in the case of many congregations composed of immigrants from unchurchly sections of Germany, these institutions were not appreciated, and, according to the judgment of Deindoerfer, too great insistence on these matters often hindered the synod's growth.

Like other conservative synods, Iowa from its very beginning took a decisive stand against all religious secret societies. It demanded a similar attitude, at least in principle, from the General Council, declaring itself satisfied with the Pittsburgh Declaration. In the matter of practice it agreed with Missouri and Ohio.

7. Institutions

In a certain sense, the Iowa Synod is the outgrowth of the seminary which was transferred to the frontier in Iowa from Saginaw, Michigan. After its removal to St. Sebald in 1857 it was known as the Wartburg Seminary. It developed under almost unbelievable hardships, especially through subsidies from Germany and Lutherans in Russia, since it was inadequately supported by the small and poor congregations of the synod. The establishment of a separate college at Galena, Ill., previously conducted as a preparatory department, was premature and brought great financial loss. In 1874 the seminary was removed to Mendota, Ill., where it occupied a brick building of a defunct General Synod college. It finally returned to Dubuque in 1889, where in 1916 a splendid new complex of buildings was erected as a memorial of the Reformation Anniversary at an expense of more than \$200,000. The institution, at first entirely German, is now bi-lingual.

Wartburg College dates its existence from 1868, when it started at Galena, Ill., as an institution separate from the seminary. The hopes that it would receive many students from the Illinois Synod were not realized. It was removed to Mendota, Ill., and conducted there in connection with the seminary. In 1885 it was combined with the Waverly Teachers' Seminary. Since 1894 it has been located at Clinton, Iowa. The Teachers' Seminary at Waverly, Iowa, founded

by Grossmann, in 1879, was conducted in connection with an academy and a proseminary as a junior college. Institutions of different districts were located at Sterling, Nebr., (now closed), Eureka, S. D., and Seguin, Texas.

On the territory of the synod there were orphans' homes at Waverly, Iowa, Toledo, Ohio, and Muscatine, Iowa. At the last two places, old people's homes were connected with the institutions.

8. Missionary Activities

The synod has at all times considered it of prime importance and worthy of strenuous efforts to organize scattered Lutherans into congregations. Special funds for missions and the support of missionaries were formerly unknown, but heroic work was done. Since 1879 this work has been definitely organized and developed. At first there was a general board, and later district boards which conducted the work of missions. Loehe encouraged the synod to undertake work among the American Indians. After some investigation a mission was opened on the Little Powder River in the Black Hills. After Missionary Moritz Braeuninger had been killed by the Indians, a station was opened near the Oregon Road at Deer Creek. Support for this work came largely from Germany. On account of the great Indian insurrection during the Civil War, this work had to be abandoned.

When the General Council began its mission work in India, Iowa took part in the support of the work. After 1886 it coöperated with Neuendettelsau in its New Guinea mission. During the war (1914-1918) it kept this work going in co-operation with the United Lutheran Church of Australia. Besides this, support was furnished for the Leipzig and Hermannsburg Societies.

9. Publications

The Iowa Synod had the following publications: *Kirchenblatt* (semi-monthly); *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (monthly); *Jugendblatt* (monthly); *Lutheran Herald* (at first monthly, later semi-monthly). It had devoted considerable attention to Sunday School literature. The Wartburg Publishing House had its offices and printery at Chicago, Ill., until the merger.

10. Strength in 1930

At the time of the merger with Ohio and Buffalo, the Iowa Synod consisted of nine districts. It had nearly six hundred forty pastors, nine hundred forty congregations and 145,000 confirmed and 212,000 baptized members.

Biographical Notes

The Fritschel Family. The Brothers Fritschel, descending from an ancient family of armor-makers of Nuremberg (which can be traced back to 1632) were the first theologians of their family. Their parents belonged to the circle of believers in touch with Loehe. The two brothers received their training under Bauer and Loehe at Nuremberg and Neuendettelsau; Gottfried was sent to Erlangen, where for a year he studied under Hofmann, Thomasius and Harnack. In 1853 Sigmund emigrated to America, took part in the organization of the Iowa Synod, and assisted Grossmann in the work of the seminary. Financial support being meager, he took charge of a congregation at Platteville, Wis., where he started successful missionary work. Later, at the urgent request of Grabau, he served the Buffalo Synod congregation at Detroit and joined the Buffalo Synod. In 1857 the younger brother was called to the seminary, and Sigmund returned to it a year later. The two brothers worked side by side most effectively at St. Sebald, Iowa, and at Mendota, until they were parted by death. Their influence extended far beyond the bounds of the synod whose leadership made them famous. Gottfried died at Mendota, Ill., in 1889, and Sigmund at Dubuque in 1900. Both were prolific writers and regular contributors to *Kirchenblatt*, *Brobst's Monatshefte* and *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*. Gottfried was the author of the *Passionsbetrachtungen*, *History of Indian Missions in the 17th Century* and a series of pamphlets. At the twenty-fifth anniversary of the synod both received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Muhlenberg College. Their sons, too, have become prominent in the Iowa Synod. The two oldest sons of Sigmund died soon after their ordination. John Fritschel has been professor in the college since 1888 and its director since 1904. His brother Max has been professor in the seminary since 1892 and its director since 1906. Gottfried's son, George J. Fritschel, having served congregations at West Superior, Wis., Galveston, Texas (causing the subsequent union of the Texas and Iowa Synods), Loganville and Fond du Lac, Wis., now occupies his father's chair in Wartburg Seminary, vacated by the death of Prof. William Proehl. He is the author of a German *History of the Lutheran Church in America* and of *Schriftlehre von der Gnadenwahl, Quellen und Doku-*

mente zur Geschichte und Lehrstellung der Ev. Lutherischen Synode von Iowa, and Aus den Tagen der Vaeter. His brother Hermann is the successful manager of Passavant's charitable institution; Gottlob is pastor at New Hampton, Iowa, and Conrad a teacher at the college at Clinton, Iowa.

George Martin Grossmann, born in Hesse (1823), graduated from the Teachers' Seminary of Friedberg at the age of 19 and served that institution as assistant teacher. Later he was instructor in the private schools of Rottheim and Lollar. Here he was converted through the influence of Pastor Dieffenbach, and placed himself, though married, at the disposal of Loehe for the American service. After studying theology at Erlangen, he went to Saginaw, Mich., as founder and inspector of the Teachers' Seminary. After the organization of the Iowa Synod, he was president of that body for thirty-nine years. He was president of the seminary until 1875, when, on account of his health, he resigned for a time, but, having recovered, started the Teachers' Seminary. From 1885 to 1895 he was also president of Wartburg College at Waverly, Ia. He retired in 1894, and died three years later on the forty-third anniversary of the synod which he had served in many ways.

Johannes Deindoerfer, D. D., born 1828 at Rosstall, near Neuendettelsau, received his theological education at Nuremberg and Neuendettelsau. On September 14, 1851, he was (like Grossmann and S. Fritschel) ordained as "ship-chaplain" by Pastor Meinel of Hamburg. He was pastor of a congregation ("Frankenhilf") near Saginaw. Together with Grossmann, he migrated to Iowa in 1853, and became pastor of "St. Sebald at the Spring" (Iowa), serving there until 1856; pastor at Madison, Wis., until 1860; at West Union, Iowa, until 1865; Toledo, O., until 1870; Defiance, O., until 1889; Ripon, Wis., until 1894. As long as Grossmann was president, Deindoerfer served as vice president, and succeeded him as the salaried president. For sixteen years he was also president of a district. His many talents and his able pen were devoted to the service of the synod, whose distinctive features he emphasized as a true disciple of Loehe. Noteworthy among his books are his *Geschichte der Iowa Synode*, and also his three *Denkschriften*, 1864, 1879, 1904.

F. Richter, D. D. (General President), born in 1852, is the son of a pastor in Saxony. Private tutoring and a course in the gymnasium preceded his theological training, which he received at St. Sebald (1870-1874). A visit of S. Fritschel at his father's house was the cause of his emigration. He attended the universities of Erlangen and Leipzig (1874-1876). After his return to America, he became assistant teacher in the seminary and college

at Mendota. He took charge of the congregation in the city (1879-1894). From 1887 to 1904 he was president of the Southern District. In 1894 he was elected president of Clinton College, holding that position until 1902, when he became editor of the *Kirchenblatt*. From the fiftieth anniversary of the synod in 1904 until 1926 he was the president of the synod, and since that time he is "Praeses Emeritus." In 1901 Thiel College conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Prof. John Michael Reu, D. D., born at Diebach (near Rotenburg), Bavaria, in 1869, received his education in the Latin School of Oettingen, through private tutors and at the Mission School of Neuendettelsau. He came to America in 1889, was called to Rockfalls, Ill., in 1890, and to the faculty of the Dubuque Seminary in 1899. Among his literary output we would mention *Old Testament Pericopes* 1901-6; *Katechismusauslegung* 1904; *Wartburg Lehrmittel* of eight small volumes; *Catechetics and Ethics* 1915, and especially *Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts zwischen 1530 und 1600* (1904). In recognition of this book the University of Erlangen (1910) conferred on him the title of "Dr. Theol."—a distinction not shared by any American since 1845 (Philip Schaff). Since 1905 Dr. Reu has been the editor of *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, the theological monthly of the Iowa Synod. He is also a contributor to the *Katechetische Zeitschrift*, *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte*, *Zeitschrift fuer Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, etc. He recently issued: *Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism—a history of its origin, distribution and use* (1929); and *The Augsburg Confession—a collection of sources with an historical introduction* (1930), two scholarly works of first rank and of permanent historical value.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE NORWEGIAN SYNODS¹

1. Norwegians in America

In 1925 the Norwegians celebrated the 100th anniversary of their emigration to America. At this celebration, which was held in the Twin Cities, St. Paul and Minneapolis, three governments were officially represented, namely, Norway, Canada, and the United States, President Calvin Coolidge being one of the principal speakers.

It was quite natural that this celebration should be held in Minnesota since the Norwegian Lutheran Church ranks first as to churches and second as to membership in the state according to volume I of *Religious Bodies* published by the United States Bureau of Census in 1926 (pages 42 and 44). More than two-fifths of the Lutherans of Minnesota are Norwegians.

2. Norse Explorations

Two pre-Reformation incidents must be mentioned as they connect Norway with America, and with Minnesota in particular. The first is the discovery of America by Leif Erikson, made—after he had accepted Christianity—in A. D. 1000, and the subsequent Vinland settlements—identified as Nova Scotia. The first child of European parentage born in America was Snorri Thorfinnson (Karlsefne), born in Vinland in 1008. The first clergyman in America was Bishop John, who came to the settlements in 1059 and preached for the Norwegians and Indians.

The second: In 1362—one hundred thirty years before Columbus came to the Western Continent—an expedition, coming by the way of Vinland west, chiseled its records in runes on a stone twenty-eight by sixteen inches, which was discovered in 1898 clamped between the roots of a poplar tree. These runes, found in what is now Douglas County, near Kensington, Minn., tell how eight Swedes and twenty-two Norwegians

¹ See Foreword for acknowledgment.

were trapped by the Indians and ten murdered. Thus in Douglas County, Minn., is the first cemetery of white men in the middle west. The Catholic faith of the chroniclers is expressed in the runes by: "Ave Marie, save us from evil."

It is not unlikely that this is the expedition sent in search of the descendants of the Norwegians who settled west Greenland in 986 A. D., as stipulated in the royal decree of Magnus, King of Norway and Sweden, under the date of October 28, 1354. This decree created an expedition to be headed by Paul Knutsen of Trondhjem, who is given full authority as to the make-up and equipment of the expedition, in regard to which the king says: "Be it known to all that we are not doing this for the sake of material gain, but for the glory of God and our forebearers who established Christianity in Greenland." In 1341 Ivar Baardson found no Norwegians in the Greenland settlement. No doubt the expedition divided to search for them in Vinland, where they may have learned that the group had moved west. This connection adds force to the conclusion of explorers who believe the white Eskimos in Canada west of Hudson Bay to be of Norse origin.

3. The Expedition of Jens Munk

In post-Reformation times Norway shared kings with Denmark. In 1619 Christian IV sent his fourth expedition in quest of the northwest passage—which remained unknown until Roald Amundson discovered and explored it in 1903-1906. The expedition of two vessels with sixty-four men was commanded by a Dane, Jens Munk (Munck), who was born and lived in Norway. The expedition left Denmark May 9, 1619. After crossing Hudson Bay, it landed at the mouth of the river which is now called Churchill. Here the vessels were caught in the ice-jam, to be released only by the warmth of the following summer. Rev. Rasmus Jensen, a Danish pastor, was a member of the expedition. He and all but three members of the expedition succumbed under the hardships of winter. At Churchill, Canada, is the second oldest Scandinavian cemetery on American soil. Jens Munk and two others reached Denmark in the smaller of the two vessels in September, 1620, where Munk published his diary telling about the Nordic and Christian heroism of the members in the expedition.

4. Condition of the Church in Norway

The early history of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America is closely linked with the history of Norway and of Norwegian emigration to America. As the Scandinavian countries are Lutheran by constitutional provision, an immigrant from these sources must be considered as Lutheran. The second paragraph of Norway's constitution stipulates that: "The Evangelical Lutheran religion shall remain the public religion of the state. The inhabitants professing it shall be required to bring their children up in the same. Jesuits shall not be tolerated."

At the beginning of the nineteenth century a wave of rationalism deluged the Church of Norway, as it had other European countries, and put its mark on every feature of that country's spiritual life. Then there came an awakening over the whole land through the earnest preaching of a pious layman, Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824). He was converted in 1796, and soon began to preach the Word to the people. He traveled all over the land, mostly on foot, and everywhere he went his labor bore rich fruitage. He also induced other Christian laymen to take up the work.

He did not put himself directly in opposition to the clergy; but, while their sermons were permeated with rationalistic views, leading to religious indifference, if not to open ungodliness, he preached the Gospel in its purity and simplicity, telling sinners to repent, find forgiveness in Jesus Christ, and live a new life. In the opinion of many of the ministers, Hauge was a fanatic, and so they put every possible obstruction in his way. By their influence the government, in 1804, had him arrested for preaching in public, which was forbidden to laymen by an old section of the law. On account of the examination of six hundred witnesses and other delays, his case dragged on for years. Meanwhile he was confined to jail. In all, he spent ten years in prison, and came out broken in health. During the last eight years of his life he resided on his farm, called Bredtvedt, near Christiana, Norway, directing from there the religious movement he had inaugurated. He died March 29, 1824, receiving honor at the last from both friend and foe.

The persecution and death of Hauge did not slacken or quench the fire he had kindled. Others took his place and continued the work. Less broad-minded than their great leader, they sometimes showed a more unfriendly feeling toward the clergy than he did, but there was no separation, for Hauge was a faithful Lutheran, and earnestly advised his friends not to leave the Church.

Eventually the younger ministers felt the incoming tide of the new life. Professor Stener Johannes Stenersen (who taught in Upsala, 1814-35), Svend Borchmann Hersleb (1784-1836), Wilhelm Andreas Wexel, Professor Karl Paul Caspari (1847-92), and Gisle Johnsen (1849-94), all exerted a great and salutary influence on the young theologians. They were strictly conservative Lutherans, so that there should have been the greatest harmony between them and the Christian laymen; but unfortunately their very conservatism was viewed as a hierarchical tendency by some of the friends of Hauge. To this may be added, that many of the clergy did not look with favor on the lay preaching so dear to the Haugeans. The difference between these two allied wings became evident in its American development.

5. The First Settlements

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries very few immigrants came to America from Scandinavia. Dr. J. O. Evjen lists one hundred eighty-eight Scandinavians who lived in New York 1630-74. Of these, fifty-seven were Norwegians.

Norwegian immigration of real consequence began in the year 1825. Cleng Peerson and Knud O. Eide had been sent by the Quakers in Stavanger to investigate conditions in America with a view to emigration. Peerson returned to Norway in 1824 and with his encouraging report gave occasion for the first emigrant vessel to sail from Norway to America.

The pioneer group crossed the ocean in a scow of about forty tons, drawing seven and a half feet of water. They called the sloop "Restaurationen"—it was the Norwegian "Mayflower." The vessel was bought for \$1370 which made the fare for the fifty-two persons \$26.35 each—cheap transportation even for that day. The vessel, carrying a cargo of iron, left Stavanger on July 4, 1825, and arrived October ninth in New York, where they were met by Cleng Peerson, who had

previously returned to America. This company of immigrants, known in history as the "Sloop Party," does not appear to have been a pious group. The members were men of diverse faiths—differences as great as between agnostics and Quakers existed in their home city of Stavanger. The leader of the party was Lars Larson, who could speak English. The "Sloop Party" went by way of Albany and Rochester to Western New York where they founded the Kendall settlement, Murry Township, Orleans County. The settlers were destined not to stay long at this place.

Already in 1834 Cleng Peerson selected a second site for a Norwegian settlement. This was in the Fox River Valley, La Salle County, Illinois. In that year six families left New York for Illinois, and by 1835 only two or three families remained in New York. By 1838 the Illinois settlement numbered about twenty families. It reflected the composition of the "Sloop Party" as stated by a son of one of the early immigrants: "a mixture of agnostics, Quakers, Presbyterians, Methodists, Mormons and Lutherans." Unonius, a Swede, tried hard to win them for the Episcopal Church. To the staunch Haugean, Ole Hetletvedt, belongs the honor of conducting the first Lutheran service among the Norwegians in America. He held the ground in the Fox River settlement for the Lutheran faith until the arrival of Elling Eielsen in 1839. With his preaching and personal work Eielsen routed the sects and brought most of the wayward settlers back into the Lutheran Church. In 1841 Eielsen built the first house of worship among the Norwegians,² using the first floor as an immigrant receiving home, and the second floor as an assembly hall. Eielsen received ordination to the ministry October 3, 1843, and is thus the first Norwegian Lutheran pastor in America.

A third center for Norwegians was started in Wisconsin during 1839. It soon spread into Waukesha, Rock, Dane and Milwaukee counties. One group settled at Muskego. The leaders in this settlement came from Drammen, Oslo and other points in eastern Norway. With these settlements are associated the names of prominent Haugeans such as: Tollef Bache, a merchant in Drammen, whose son, Søren, emigrated

² Norsk Lutherske Menigheter i Amerika, Vol. I, p. 43.

to America; Even Heg, a well-to-do innkeeper in Lier near Drammen; Johannes Johanneson; the Nattestad brothers, Ole and Ansten; and Ole Rynning, the son of a clergyman, a university graduate, and author of the first Norwegian book concerning favorable immigration conditions in America. The group which left Drammen under the direction of the Nattestad brothers in 1839 numbered about one hundred forty souls. This group requested the Church Department to ordain Peter Valeur, a theological candidate for the ministry. Valeur's ordination was authorized by the Church Department and granted by royal resolution. Unfortunately the first pastor ordained for the Norwegian Lutherans in America lost courage when he received Nattestad's report about the religious complexion of the Fox River settlement in Illinois, and did not emigrate.

For this settlement at Muskego, Tollef Bache later asked Claus Lauritz Clausen, a Danish volunteer for the Schreuder mission in South Africa, if he would go to America as a teacher in religion. Clausen accepted this suggestion and came to America. Because of the need of clergymen, he accepted ordination at the hands of a German pastor of the Buffalo Synod, L. F. E. Krause, on October 18, 1843, a pastor in the Muskego settlement. (As the German, Justus Falckner, was ordained by Swedes to be pastor of Dutch Lutherans, so the Dane, Clausen, was ordained by a German to serve Norwegians.) The first church of the Norwegian Lutherans in America was built in 1843 in this settlement³ to which building Tollef Bache contributed four hundred "specie daler." This church has been removed to the seminary grounds in St. Paul where it is being preserved. The Muskego settlement also represents the Haugean movement, though with less antagonism to the established Church of Norway.

A fourth center was formed at Koshkonong, Rock County, Wisconsin, with which some of the leaders of the Muskego settlement were connected. Of this settlement it is said: "The beginnings of the Koshkonong settlement represents three elements in the stream of Norwegian immigration, the Voss, Numedal, and Stavanger groups." P. Sørensen, a dyer of Oslo, took special interest in this settlement and suggested

³ Norsk Lutherske Menigheter i Amerika, Vol. I, p. 91.

to J. W. C. Dietrichson that he go to America as pastor. Sørrenson assumed the expenses connected with his travel. Dietrichson was ordained in Oslo in 1844 and arrived in Wisconsin the same year, as the first State Church pastor in America.

In enumerating the settlements we must record the fact that in the forties a Scandinavian settlement developed in New York City. Recent research has brought to light the information that a Mr. Christian Hansen began in 1847 the publication of *Skandinavia*, a paper that was intended to serve the needs of Danes, Norwegians and Swedes alike. The first Norwegian congregation in New York City was organized in 1860 and the first in Brooklyn in 1866.

6. Formation of Synods

In the constituency and leadership of the three groups, Fox River, Muskego, and Koshkonong, lie the forces which divided the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America into various synods. Imperious Dietrichson of Koshkonong had a high church tendency and a theology tinged with Grundtvigianism which for three years delayed the organization of a Norwegian synod. Elling Eielsen had a dislike for both the state church clergy and Grundtvigianism, and had little appreciation of order. Since Dietrichson and Eielsen could not agree, they indulged in mutual faultfinding. Clausen, also influenced by Grundtvigianism, occupied a middle ground. On this background can be traced the course which led to the organization of several synods among Norwegian pioneers.

The first synod was that of the "Evangelical Lutheran Church of America," organized at Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin, April 13-14, 1846, with Elling Eielsen of the Fox River settlement as leader. In 1875 this organization changed its constitution and adopted the name of "Hauge's Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod of America." The second synod was that of the "Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod of America," organized in the Koshkonong settlement. An effort to form this body had been made in 1850, but Grundtvigian complications caused a dissolution of the first organization, with the result that the Synod dates its origin to October 3-7, 1853.

Another group of Scandinavians, affiliated with the Northern Illinois Synod of the General Synod, withdrew from

that body in 1860 because of doctrinal and other differences, and that year organized the Scandinavian Augustana Synod. In 1870 the other Scandinavians amicably separated from the Swedes in the Augustana Synod, and organized themselves into two bodies: the Norwegian Lutheran Conference, and the Norwegian-Danish Augustana Synod.

Thus the year 1870 finds four independent Lutheran synods among the Norwegians. This division has been deplored and condemned alike by friends and foes of the church. To the unprejudiced and careful student of history it is evident that God had turned the "Confusion" into a blessing for the Lutheran Church. Two factors were brought into play among the Norwegians for the benefit of the Kingdom of God: (1) opportunity for the Norwegian immigrant to choose a Lutheran church-home suited to his taste; (2) impetus to aggressive work which comes from keen competition and rivalry. Statistics can be cited to prove this contention.

7. Internal Difficulties

In the course of the growth of these four synods there arose a bitter and prolonged controversy over laymen's preaching. The university-trained men little understood Hauge and his great work. They were extremely intolerant of the laymen and expected that they should drop back into the pew as soon as a few state-church ordained men had arrived. Of Elling Eielsen they said officially: "If it had been only the concern for the salvation of souls, he would have rejoiced when capable and orthodox laborers came into the field, where, because of great need, he had begun the work. He would then either have withdrawn from the responsible work, which he, by his own initiative had undertaken, or, if he had been found capable to continue in the work, have accepted a call from individual congregations, and admonished his followers to join with the orthodox pastors and congregations."⁴ It was human that the lay preachers felt that this judgment reflected in a full measure the same intolerance which held Hauge in prison for ten years. Hence it could not be reasonably expected that they would abandon fields they had already plowed and seeded.

⁴ Festschrift (Norwegian Synod) p. 231.

These differences brought about the formation of the first two synods, namely, Eielsen's (Hauge's) in April, 1846, and the Norwegian Synod in 1850. In 1848 differences arose between Elling Eielsen and some of his fellow pastors, who leaned towards Grundtvig's and Wexel's teachings. These disagreements caused them to withdraw in 1848. Some joined the Synod of Northern Illinois, which was organized October, 1846.

The Norwegian Synod under the leadership of H. A. Preus dissolved in 1852 on account of the following Grundtvigian paragraph in the constitution of 1850: "The doctrine of the Church is that which is revealed through God's Holy Word in our baptismal covenant." It was reorganized with a strictly orthodox constitution in 1853.

True to its initial attitude the Norwegian Synod placed the emphasis on true doctrine and became its champion. At an early date it defined its position on the Gospel, Absolution and justification. (1861). The question of whether slavery can be justified by Scripture, and of the Sunday, were discussed in congregations and conferences. They were both referred to the Theological faculty at the University of Norway for advice.

In 1872 the Norwegian Synod took part in the formation of the Synodical Conference. In 1859 Laur. Larsen had been sent as Norwegian professor to Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. In 1875 Asperheim was sent as professor to the Missouri Practical Seminary opened in Springfield, Ill. Thus it happened that the Norwegian Synod became closely affiliated with the Missouri Synod and its controversies.

The most violent controversy within the synod raged around the question of predestination. (Cf. Chap. X, Sec. C.) Schmidt attacked Walther's theory of election contained in the synodical records of 1877 and 1879. The synod was divided into two opposing camps. To prevent a division, it left the Synodical Conference in 1883. However, a schism occurred four years later. Schmidt and his followers—a third of the synod—withdraw and formed the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood. This was simply an association, not a synodical corporation.

The Haugeans also had the experience of having dissension in their ranks. Organized under the name "Evangelical Lutheran Church of America," it has since been known as Hauge's Synod or Eielsen's Synod. P. A. Rasmussen came to America in 1850 and was ordained in 1854 by this body. He had a clearer view of the needs of a growing church in a new environment than had Eielsen. The latter's weakness was his lack of organizing ability. Rasmussen could have supplied this, but his suggestions of changes were not acceptable to Eielsen, who feared that they might bring about dangerous innovations.

The field also increased and the church grew; but, much to the annoyance of Eielsen, the people found fault with the constitution, and demanded a revision. At the meeting in 1874 it was decided that the ministers should meet at Minneapolis in July, take the matter under consideration, and report to the next annual convention. The ministers met, formulated their suggestions and presented them to the next synodical convention. The synod's action was to approve a few minor changes and to suggest the addition of explanatory notes to obscure paragraphs. To prevent a schism, this was agreed upon. So amended, the constitution was adopted. The name was changed to Hauge's Synod. Although Eielsen and his friends had given their consent to the revision, they held a meeting in Jackson County, Minnesota, during the winter of 1876, deciding to adhere to the unrevised constitution. This organization, of which Eielsen became president, is known as Eielsen's Synod.

Even the Hauge Synod had its period of doctrinal conflict. In 1895, Rev. O. S. Meland, who had been professor at Red Wing Seminary, and now was serving the local congregation, accused Professor H. H. Bergsland of the Seminary of false doctrine in his teaching about the church, justification and free will. For a time the discussion grew hot, and it looked as if there might be a disruption; but the synod found no heresy in Professor Bergsland's teachings (1896) and the matter subsided. Bergsland continued as professor until his death in 1907.

8. Efforts at Union

The Norwegian Synod hoped that unity might be established by free conferences to which members of all Norwegian synods were to be invited. The first was held in Decorah, Iowa, in 1872. Present were one hundred sixty-five from the Synod, eighteen from the Conference, two from the Augustana Synod and one from the Eielsen's Synod. A subsequent conference was held in Rock Prairie, Wisconsin, in November, 1873. Present were: from the Synod thirty-five pastors and seventy laymen; from the Conference eleven pastors and forty-two laymen; from the Augustana Synod three pastors and one layman; and from Eielsen's Synod one pastor and three laymen. The Synod reported in regard to this, "The prospects for true peace and unity were not bright."

In 1881 B. J. Muus, the founder of St. Olaf College, secured the coöperation of all synodical presidents in calling a conference. This conference was held in June at St. Ansgar, Iowa. At this conference many came to the conclusion that the differences were not so great as they had been thinking, and that they might be adjusted. These conclusions were strengthened at subsequent conferences at Roland, Iowa, in 1882, at Holden, Minnesota, in 1883, in Chicago, Ill., in 1885, in Gol Congregation, Goodhue County, Minnesota, in 1886, and in Willmar, Minnesota, in 1887. The secession of the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood from the Synod at this time halted the movement for union.

The Anti-Missourian Brotherhood met in Minneapolis in February, 1888, and elected a committee on union to negotiate with Hauge's Synod (now separate from Eielsen's), Augustana Synod, and Conference. On August 15, 1888, committees from the three bodies met in Eau Claire, Wisconsin. This joint committee submitted articles of union setting forth doctrines of atonement, justification, the Gospel, absolution, Sunday and election, accepting as their statement the form in question 548 of Pontoppidan's *Sandhet til Gudfrygtighed* which reads: "That God has predestined all those unto eternal life, whom He from eternity has foreknown as willing to accept the proffered grace, believe on Christ, and in this belief remain true to the end." With this statement of confession was submitted also a constitution for the new body, together

with recommendations as to adjustments of details. These articles of union were submitted to the 1889 annual meetings of all the negotiating bodies, three of which ratified the proposed articles of union. The Hauge Synod did not ratify, a majority of their convention being opposed to the merger.

In June, 1890, the three bodies met separately in Minneapolis, concluding their business on the 12th. The records give the following constituency:

Body	Congregations	Pastors	Delegates
Augustana	14	24	35
Conference	379	100	292
Anti-Missourian	268	98	313
Total	661	222	640

On June 13th the three bodies met in the Conference Church on Fourth Street and Tenth Avenue, Minneapolis. As the building proved too small, they adjourned to the Swedish Augustana Church on Seventh Street. Here they adopted the constitution and elected officers as follows: President, G. Hoyme; Vice President, L. M. Bjorn; Secretary, J. N. Kildahl; Treasurer, Mr. Lars Swenson.

Such a united front seemed to preclude any possible rupture. But when the Augsburg Seminary, hitherto the institution of the Conference, was to be transferred according to agreement to the United Church, the trustees refused to make the transfer. The Conference did not, as a body, hold title to the Seminary and Publishing House, but titles to the institutions were held by an independent board of trustees. There followed a long litigation resulting in a compromise which left the Augsburg Seminary with the minority and the Publishing House with the majority. In 1897 the minority organized the Lutheran Free Church.

Another group, the Church of the Lutheran Brethren, was organized in December, 1900, from discontented elements in the other bodies. The leader of the group, Rev. K. O. Lundeberg, a pastor of the United Church, had been impressed

with Free Church principles in Norway. Those who gathered about him voiced disapproval of such matters in the other bodies as their practice in the acceptance of new members, church discipline, confirmation and other minor matters. At the organizing meeting, eight persons, pastors and laymen, were present. In 1911 the Brethren suffered the loss of Lundeberg, who returned to the United Church. Though the body experienced some growth by the admission of congregations and individuals sympathetic with their viewpoint, it is still a very small church group.

Thus the year 1916 found six Norwegian Lutheran bodies in America in spite of a merger. At first there had been four: Eielsen's Synod, Norwegian Synod, Augustana, and Conference. From Eielsen's had come Hauge's; from the Synod had come the Anti-Missouri Brotherhood, making six bodies. This number was continued, after the merger of the Anti-Missouri Brotherhood, Augustana and Conference to form the United Church, by the organization of the Free Church, and the Church of the Brethren. Hence the beginning of the year 1917 found existent Eielsen's Synod, Hauge's Synod, Norwegian Synod, United Church, Free Church, and Church of the Brethren.

9. Education

Since the middle of the last century, each decade has witnessed the founding of educational institutions by Norwegians. In the last decade of the century, for example, no less than eleven schools came into being. Before any of their own institutions had been founded, the Norwegian educational needs were served in a measure by the Illinois State University of the Northern Illinois Synod, a school of less than college grade located at Springfield, Ill.

To Eielsen's Synod goes the honor of making a beginning in education. That body in 1854 voted to establish a seminary. Property at Lisbon, Illinois, was purchased at once, but instruction did not begin until October, 1855. P. A. Rasmussen was the professor in this School for Pastors which lasted but one year and was attended by but three students. A second attempt, at a location near Deerfield, Wisconsin, lasted two years, 1865-1867, with Andreas Aaserod teaching a student body averaging twenty students. After an attempt to erect

a building in Red Wing, Minnesota, a seminary was begun in 1870 in connection with Trinity congregation in Chicago, but after seven years this effort failed. Hauge's Synod at this time took over another attempt at Red Wing, Minnesota, and Red Wing Seminary opened in 1879. To Hauge's Synod is to be credited also Jewell Lutheran College, Jewell, Iowa, founded 1893, which was a school of normal and academy grade. (The latter was discontinued in 1924.)

The Norwegian Synod at the beginning, after investigating different Lutheran institutions, sent her theological students to Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. A Norwegian professorship was established there, filled by Laur. Larsen 1859-1861, F. A. Schmidt 1872-1876. In 1875 O. Asperheim was appointed Norwegian professor in the Missouri Synod practical seminary in Springfield, Illinois. In 1876 both professorships were terminated and Luther Seminary was opened in Madison, Wisconsin. The seminary was moved in 1888 to Robbinsdale, a suburb of Minneapolis, and in 1899 was established in St. Paul, Minnesota. The synod's first institution, however, was Luther College, begun at Halfway Creek, La Cross County, Wisconsin, in 1861 and established the following year at Decorah, Iowa. St. Olaf College, whose choir is justly famous, was founded in 1875 at Northfield, Minnesota. Besides these institutions, the synod founded twelve academies and one normal school.

Before their separation from the Scandinavian Augustana Synod, the Norwegians in 1869 started their own seminary at Marshall, Wisconsin. When the majority of this group of Norwegians organized the Norwegian-Danish Conference, this body moved the seminary to Minneapolis in 1872, giving it the name "Augsburg" and adding a college department. This is the institution about which raged the conflict which resulted in the formation of the Lutheran Free Church which now controls the school. The Free Church also conducts the Oak Grove Ladies' Seminary at Fargo, North Dakota, founded in 1906. After the Conference had taken the seminary to Minneapolis, the minority group, organized as Augustana, continued a school at Marshall and started a seminary in the Springfield parsonage in 1874. In 1881 they were moved west; the academy, known as Augustana College, to Canton,

South Dakota, and Augustana Seminary to Beloit, Iowa,—two miles apart.

From 1886 to 1890 the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood had been conducting a seminary at St. Olaf College. But with the formation of the United Church, this seminary was merged with Augustana Seminary of Beloit and parts of Augsburg Seminary of Minneapolis to form in 1890 Luther Seminary in St. Anthony Park, St. Paul. The United Church also founded Concordia College in 1891 at Moorhead, Minnesota, and in subsequent years established six academies and one normal school. The Lutheran Brethren maintain a Bible School at Grand Forks, North Dakota, established in 1903, which serves as a seminary.

The need of extending religious activity to our own Lutheran students in State schools found expression in 1897, when the Home Mission Board of the Hauge Synod gave support to Rev. N. J. Løhre, pastor of St. Paul's Church, Minneapolis, for work as student pastor in Minnesota University. Since this beginning, work among the students at State schools has been extended so that the Norwegian Lutheran Church is now represented by student pastors at fifteen state colleges and universities.

10. Missions

Each of the synods carried on an aggressive Home Mission work which very often caused unnecessary duplication and rivalry in pioneer days. However the result of Home Mission work is seen in the establishing and maintaining of congregations in new territory both in rural and city communities. In this connection are to be noted Seamen's Missions at Boston, Galveston, San Francisco, Vancouver, and two missions in Seattle. There was coöperation with the Church of Norway in seven other ports. In Winnipeg the government assumed part of the expense of immigrant work.

In 1885 the Norwegian Synod sent Mr. L. Mørstad, a graduate of Luther College and the Chicago Theological Seminary, as missionary to the Winnebago Indians in Wisconsin. Houses for this mission were built near Wittenberg in 1887. The mission was moved to Ingersol in 1900. In 1893 Mørstad became a missionary for the Eielsen Synod. The United States government in 1894 requested the Norwegian Synod to

send a male teacher of religion to Port Clarence, Alaska, to work among Norwegians and Laps at that place. Rev. T. L. Brevig took up the work in 1905. In connection with this work a mission for Eskimos at Teller was founded. Beginning with 1902 the Norwegian Synod supported the Synodical Conference mission work among negro people.

Foreign Mission work, up until about 1890, was carried on through societies in Norway with stations in South Africa and Madagascar. The first missionary from America was J. P. Hogstad who was sent to Madagascar by the Norwegian-Danish Conference in 1887. In later years work in the Madagascar field was taken over by both the United Church and the Free Church. China has been the scene of a somewhat larger work, originating in an independent society of the Hauge Synod. Daniel Nelson, the first Norwegian missionary to China from America, went out in 1890. He began a mission in Hankow in the Honan province. Hauge's Synod supplemented this work by sending Rev. H. N. Rønning and his sister, Thea, in the fall of 1891 to Fan-cheng in the Hupeh province. In 1903 the United Church took over the work of the society. The Norwegian Synod began work in Honan in 1912 by sending as its first missionary Rev. G. A. Lillegaard. A mission in Honan was also begun by the Lutheran Brethren in 1900 and by the Free Church in 1915.

In addition to this missionary activity of the various bodies, certain missions have been supported by voluntary societies. Such were the Santal Mission in India supported jointly by societies in Norway, Denmark, and America; the Mohammedan Mission at Urumia, Persia, founded by Rev. L. O. Fossum, D. D., in 1906 and supported by the Lutheran Orient Mission Society; the Sudan Mission; a mission in Japan for a few years, and Jewish Missions supported by the Zion Society, founded in 1878, with a main station in Minneapolis and another in Chicago.

11. Publications

The first book published by the Norwegians in America was an English edition of Luther's Catechism, printed in accordance with arrangements made by Elling Eielsen in 1841. His second book came in 1842; Pontoppidan's *Sandhet til Gudfrygtighed* with the Augsburg Confession as an appendix.

This book is a standard Norwegian explanation of the catechism. Two periodicals appeared in 1847: *Nordlyset* (The Northern Light) in Muskego and *Skandinavia* in New York. *Skandinaven*, which began publication in 1865, not only gave much space to church publicity, but imported and published much Christian literature, especially during the years before the synods were able to publish any for themselves. *Decorah Posten* since its founding in 1873 has been of similar service.

Beginning distinctively church publication was C. L. Clausen's *Maanedstidende* of 1851. The following year within the Northern Illinois Synod was published *Norsk Luthersk Kirketidende*. Eielsen's Synod during the years 1856 to 1861 issued *Kirkelige Tidende*. Eielsen himself edited *Organ* from 1857 to 1862 and his synod in 1883 published *Den Kristelige Legmand*. Within Hauge's Synod was published *Budbaereren* from 1868 to 1917 in addition to *Lutheran Intelligencer* (1910-1914) and *Tidsskrift for Kirke og Samfund* (1911-1914).

The first periodical of the Norwegian Synod was *Kirkelige Maanedstidende* (1856-1859). The official organ of the synod was *Ev. Luth. Kirketidende* (1859-1917), the first editor of which was H. A. Preus. Other periodicals of the synod were *Lutheran Herald* 1905-1917, *Opbyggelsesblad* 1877-1878, *Lutheran Watchman* 1866-1868, and *Teologisk Tidsskrift* 1889-1907.

The paper of the Norwegian Augustana was *Ebenezer* 1869-1873 and *Lutherske Kirketidende* 1873-1910. The Norwegian-Danish Conference published *Lutheraneren* 1868-1890, *Missionsbladet* 1874, *Kvartalskrift* 1875-1881, *Fredsbudet* 1878-1890, and *Folkebladet* since 1877, the last named journal being both religious and political. The Anti-Missourian Brotherhood issued *Lutherske Vidnesbyrd* in the year 1887.

After the formation of the United Church, there were merged the Norwegian Synod's *Ev. Luth. Kirketidende*, the Augustana's *Lutherske Kirketidende*, and the Conference's *Lutheraneren* to form *Luthersk Kirkeblad* issued 1890-1894. During the year 1894 *Samfundet* came into being, but the following year the two were combined to form *Lutheraneren* which was issued continuously until 1917. *United Lutheran* was published for English readers 1908-1917. The Lutheran Free Church, besides the *Free Church Messenger* of 1891,

had *Folkebladet* (1877) and from 1906 published the *Luthersk Tidsskrift*. The Lutheran Brethren began the publication of *Broderbaandet* in 1910. Besides these synodical publications were many papers of church societies, missions, and institutions, as well as Sunday School literature.

To provide all this literature, publication societies or committees were organized in the various bodies in the course of time. Out of these developed the publication concerns with their publishing houses. The most important of these were Lutheran Publishing House, Decorah, Iowa, and Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minn.

12. Institutions of Mercy

The father of charitable institutions among the Norwegians in America may be said to be Rev. E. J. Homme, a member of the Norwegian Synod. When he began pastoral work in Shawano County, Wisconsin, in 1881, he built a parsonage, calling the locality "Wittenberg." Later he enlarged the parsonage so as to have room for an academy. In 1887 he founded a normal school. More important is the fact that in 1882 he built the first orphanage, and when the building was too small he transferred the orphanage to a new building in 1898, converting the first building into an old people's home. In connection with his institutions Homme operated a printing shop, the source of the "Wittenberg publications."

Up to the year 1917 there had been established among the Norwegians nine orphanages, thirteen homes for aged, sixteen hospitals, and three institutions for rescue work. The first deaconess home was established in Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1882, and the second in Minneapolis in 1889. With the merger in 1890 and the division in 1897 the institution in Brooklyn went to the United Church, and the one in Minneapolis to the Free Church. The United Church also established a deaconess home in Chicago in 1897.

13. Auxiliary Societies

Mention must also be made of organizations and activities coördinate with synodical work. First and foremost stands that of the women's organizations. Before 1870 there were a few organizations working for foreign missions and a few working for special objects at home. But in later years these

organizations and their work assumed large proportions. The number of men's societies was not nearly so large. Organization of young people's societies began in the early nineties, and group organization into centrals followed very soon, some in connection with the Luther League of America, and others as synodical units.

In the line of church music the Norwegians have made a unique and important contribution. The Choral Union is an organization with international district and circuit organizations which coöperate in the interest of better church music. Foremost among choirs is that of St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, with the genius, F. Melius Christiansen as director. This a cappella chorus by its extensive tours has not only won national and international fame but has effectively stimulated interest in church music of a high order. The other Norwegian schools have made similar musical contributions.

14. Lay Activity

Another characteristic of the Norwegian bodies is lay activity. The effect in America of the Haugean movement in Norway has already been noted. It was inevitable that lay-preaching should become an issue in America. The conflict persisted so that the issue was one of the problems to be settled in the mergers of 1890 and 1917. The fifth item of the articles of union of 1890 reads:

In regard to the work known among us as lay-activity, we declare that it has been a great blessing to our Church and our people, and it is our belief that it should receive the warmest recommendations and be fostered among us. We do not regard this activity in its true form as any intrusion on the pastoral office, and it is therefore not in conflict with Article XIV of the Augsburg Confession. Where this activity is carried on in organized congregations, it should, as far as possible, be connected with the other edification activities of the congregation.

Lay activity developed to supply spiritual fellowship. Singly or in groups, persons of one congregation visited with those of another. One congregation would invite a neighboring congregation to come and be their guests for a three days' meeting of three sessions a day. These meetings were called "Samtale møter"—Religious Conversations. At these meetings both clergy and laity took part in conversing in-

formally about Bible texts, Christian themes and experiences. In the course of time a laymen's organization in the Red River Valley came into being under the leadership of Rev. Bersvend Anderson. This group, intersynodical in character, published a paper called *Vidnesbyrd fra Broderkredsen*—Testimony from the Circle of Brethren. A second laymen's organization called "Hauges Forbund" is also in existence. Thousands of laymen's meetings, prayer meetings and evangelistic meetings were held annually, lay activity being prominent in all of them.

15. Characteristics

Since Hauge's Synod, the Norwegian Synod, and the United Church united to form the Norwegian Lutheran Church of North America in 1917, the characteristics of the merged body will be noted in Chapter XVI. The minority from the Norwegian Synod which refused to enter the merger and now exists under the name "Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church" has been described in Chapter XI, section "C" (with other parts of the Synodical Conference). There remain to be characterized only the Eielsen Synod, the Lutheran Free Church, and the Church of the Lutheran Brethren.

All three bodies accept the Bible as the Word of God. They accept the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism as correct interpretations of the Bible. In matters of practice, the Free Church emphasizes the necessity of definite Christian experience both for pastors and members. Among the Brethren this attitude is enforced by church discipline exercised upon unchristian conduct.

In polity, Eielsen Synod is synodical; the congregations have the right of self-government, selection of pastors, and the like. The meetings of the synod are annual. A board of trustees of seven members administers the financial affairs, and a synodical council, also of seven members, the executive and spiritual affairs of the body.

As the Lutheran Free Church is not a corporation, its institutions and missions are held by self-perpetuating boards, over which the general body at its annual conventions exercises only advisory authority. The boards submit reports to the convention for its deliberation and advice. In this connection

we refer the reader to the biography of Georg Sverdrup, page 310. The institutions supported by the Lutheran Free Church are: Augsburg College and Seminary, Minneapolis; Oak Grove Seminary (a co-educational academy), Fargo, North Dakota; Deaconess Home and Hospital, Minneapolis; two orphanages; two old people's homes; and foreign missions in China and Madagascar.

The Lutheran Brethren hold property as an organization and conduct a Bible school at Grand Forks, North Dakota, where pastors and missionaries are educated; an old people's home, and foreign missions in China and Sudan. The institutions are supervised by a board of seven members of which the president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer of the organization are ex-officio members.

Biographical Notes

Elling Eielsen was born in Vos, Norway, September 19, 1804. His parents belonged to the friends of Hauge, and so from childhood he was under Christian influence, but did not find peace with God until he was about twenty-five years of age. From that time he felt it his duty to preach to others, admonishing them to repent of their sins and turn to God for pardon. Having traveled as a lay preacher over a large part of Norway and part of Denmark, he landed in America in 1839. He preached his first sermon in Chicago. Then he went from place to place preaching to his widely scattered countrymen. On October third, 1843, he was ordained (or licensed), and in 1846 he and his friends organized "The Evangelical Lutheran Church of America." Eielsen was a strong character, and was very earnest in his work. He also loved the Lutheran Church as he knew it through his beloved Pontoppidan, whose explanation of Luther's Small Catechism he went all the way to New York—mostly on foot—to get printed; but he came at times in collision with the clergy in Norway and the state educated Lutheran clergy in America. When the new constitution and the name of "Hauge Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod" was adopted in 1875, he withdrew and reorganized a small group under the old constitution. He had a dislike for everything that had a taint of state-churchism which much of the liturgy included. He died at his home in Chicago in 1883.

Claus Lauritz Clausen was born in Denmark, on the island of Aerebo, November third, 1820. He grew up in the pietistic circles of Norway and Denmark. His plan was to be a missionary in Africa, but urgent appeals brought him as a teacher to the Norwe-

gians in America. He arrived in Muskego, Wisconsin, in August, 1843. He was called as pastor by the Muskego congregation and received ordination on the eighteenth of October the same year. He translated, as far as possible, the church of the fatherland to American soil by laying the first stone in the foundation of the Lutheran Church among the Norwegians in America. It was in his church at Luther Valley, Rock County, Wisconsin, that pastors and delegates met in January, 1851, and organized "Den Norsk-Evangelisk-Lutherske Kirke i America." This organization was dissolved on account of Grundtvigian doctrines in the constitution. In the same church was organized in February, 1853, "Synoden for den Norsk Evangelisk Lutherske Kirke i Amerika," known as the "Norwegian Synod." Clausen was elected superintendent of the first, and vice president of the second organization. He was one of the organizers of the Norwegian-Danish Conference in 1870 and served as its president from 1870 to 1872. While pastor at St. Ansgar, Iowa, 1853-56, he was also a member of the Iowa legislature. He was chaplain of the Fifteenth Wisconsin Regiment, 1861-62, Commissioner of Immigration, 1856-59, and Iowa's delegate to the Paris exposition in 1867. The church which he built at Muskego in 1843 has been removed to the seminary grounds in St. Paul. He died in 1892.

Peder Andreas Rasmussen was born in Stavanger, Norway, January 9, 1829. He came to America in 1850. At first he taught religious school, but in 1853 he received a call from the Lisbon Church, Fox Hill, Illinois, to become their pastor. He attended the Fort Wayne Seminary for one year and was ordained in 1854. Rasmussen was one of the most impressive speakers of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America in the last century. The greatest service he rendered was the prominent part he took in the movement resulting in the union of the Conference, the Augustana Synod and the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood. For fifteen years he edited his own paper, wrote several pamphlets, translated and published books like Arndt's *True Christianity*. He died in 1898.

Herman Amberg Preus was born in Christiansand, Norway, June 16, 1825. He graduated from the theological department of the University of Oslo, and was ordained on a call from Spring Prairie, Columbia County, Wisconsin. He came to America in 1851, fully imbued with the orthodox spirit of the Fatherland. On his arrival here he detected Grundtvigianism in an article of faith in the constitution of the newly organized Norwegian Synod, and showed his ability by getting the organization dissolved and a new one organized with a truly orthodox creed. He was one of the six ministers who formed the Norwegian Synod in 1853, and was

its president from 1862 until his death in 1894. He was a born leader. His noble physique, his fine abilities and training always commanded attention and respect. For several years he was associate editor of the synod's official paper.

Gjermund Hoyme was born in Waldris, Norway, October 8, 1848, and came to America with his parents in 1851. He studied at Wisconsin University, and graduated from Augsburg Seminary in 1873. His pastorates were in Minnesota and Wisconsin. In the United Church, Hoyme was sometimes called "our bishop." He was for years an active member of the Conference, and threw all the weight of his influence in favor of a union with the Norwegian Augustana Synod and the Anti-Missourians. When this was accomplished in 1890, Hoyme was unanimously elected President of the United Church, a position he held until his death in 1902. He had previously served as president of the Conference.

Georg Sverdrup, Sr., born in Balestrand, Norway, December 18, 1848, belongs to one of Norway's most illustrious families. It was a Sverdrup who was the moving spirit in the first Norwegian Storting (Congress) which gave Norway its independence in 1814. It would seem that a brilliant career might have been Georg's in the fatherland, but he chose to try his strength in America. He studied at Oslo University, 1863-65, Erlangen, Germany, 1869-70, and Paris University, 1871-73. On his arrival in America in 1874 he became professor of theology in Augsburg Seminary. Sverdrup put the Church under great obligation to him by giving it the full benefit of his eminent talent for organization at the period of the merger of 1890. However, when he and his gifted collaborer, Prof. Sven Oftedahl, became convinced that the principles for which Augsburg Seminary had stood would not have free play in the new body, they resigned as professors of that body and continued their work at Augsburg Seminary. Sverdrup's literary works include: *Fri menighet i fri Kirke* (Free Congregations in a Free Church) 1882; *Det Frie Kirkesamfund* (the Free Church Organization) 1897; *Ledende Principer*, 1897, 1899; *Veiledning i den Lutherske Frikirkes Principer* (Guide in the Lutheran Free Church Principles) 1904. He was editor of *Kvartalskrift* 1875-81, *Lutheraneren* 1877-81, 1885-90, *Folkebladet*, 1881-82, *Kirkebladet* 1890-93, *Gasseren* (mission paper for Madagascar) 1900-07. He died in 1907.

Peter Lauritz Larsen, D. D., was born in Christiansand, Norway, August 10, 1833. He graduated from the University at Oslo in 1855 and came to America two years later. At first he served as a pastor, but in 1859 he was elected the Norwegian professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. When the Synod in 1861 discontinued its connection with the St. Louis institution and estab-

lished a school of its own, Larsen was elected president, a position he held until 1902. For many years he was on the editorial staff of *Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende*, the official paper of the synod, and from 1902 to 1912 editor-in-chief. He was a noble character, an ideal college president and a hard worker. He died in 1914.

Friedrich August Schmidt, D. D., born at Leutenberg Germany, January 3, 1837, came to America in his youth and studied at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. He was professor at the Norwegian Luther College, Decorah, Iowa, 1861-72. From 1872 to 1876 he was a member of the faculty of the Concordia Seminary, St. Louis; 1876-86 of the Norwegian Seminary at Madison, Wisconsin; 1886-90 of the Norwegian Seminary at Northfield, Minnesota; 1890-1917 of the seminary of the United Church at Minneapolis; and Professor Emeritus of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America from 1917 to his death in 1928. He took issue with C. F. W. Walther on the doctrines of predestination and conversion, and led in the movement which first took the Norwegian Synod out of the Synodical Conference in 1883 and four years later brought about the schism which formed the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood. He edited *The Lutheran Watchman* 1866-67, *Altes und Neues* 1880-85, and *Lutherske Kirkeblad* 1890-95. He was author of *Naadevalgstriden* (Election Controversy) 1881, *Intuitu Fidei* 1889, and *Sandhet og Fred* (Truth and Peace) 1914.

Hans Gerhard Stub, D. D., born at Muskego, Wisconsin, February 23, 1849, was trained in the schools of the Missouri Synod, and later attended the University of Leipzig. Having been ordained in 1872, he served a congregation at Minneapolis 1872-78, and then became professor at Luther Seminary, Madison, Wisconsin, 1878-88, continuing in this position after the school was transferred to Robbinsdale, near Minneapolis, 1888-96. After a pastorate in Decorah, he became professor in 1900 in the new seminary in Hamline, St. Paul, continuing until the merger in 1917. In 1911 he was elected president of the Norwegian Synod, retaining this office until 1917 when he was elected president of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. In 1925 he became President Emeritus. Though born in America, Dr. Stub served as a connecting link between Europe and America. He represented the State of Minnesota and the Norwegian Synod at the crowning of King Haakon VII in 1906 at which occasion Norway became an independent kingdom. In 1914 he presented the Centennial Memorial gift of American Norwegians to the Fatherland. In 1908 he was knighted as member of the First Class Order of St. Olaf. In 1912 he was made commander, and in 1923 received the Grand Cross. When the National Lutheran Council was organized

in 1918, he was chosen president. In 1923 he represented the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America at the Eisenach conference in Germany, at which assembly he preached the opening sermon in the German language. From 1889 to 1902 he edited the official organ of the Norwegian Synod, *Evangelisk Luthersk Kirke-tidende*. As author he published in 1881 *Naadevalget* (literally, Grace Election), in 1882 *Mod Frimureriet* (Against Freemasonry), and in the same year *Eksegetiske og Dogmehistoriske Bidrag i Utraelgelsen* (Exegetical and Dogma-historical Contributions on Election). He died August 1, 1931.

Østen Hanson was born in Telemarken, Norway, July 8, 1836 and died in Goodhue County, Minnesota, August 4, 1898. With only an elementary education he made great strides in Biblical and theological studies. He came to America at the age of nineteen to take up farming. After a prayer meeting where he cried out, "I want to become a Christian," he became a lay-preacher and was ordained in 1861 by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (since 1875, Hauge Synod) on call from Goodhue County congregation. He led in the constitutional revision of 1875 in his church body, of which he was president 1875-76 and 1887-93. He was one of the founders of Red Wing Seminary, and of the society that founded the Norwegian Lutheran Mission in China.

Even Johannes Homme was born in Telemarken, Norway, in 1843 and came to America in 1854. He studied at Luther College and Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. In 1881 he founded the village of Wittenberg, Wisconsin, where, from a humble beginning in his parsonage, were established an academy, a normal school, an orphanage and an old people's home. In coöperation with the Norwegian Synod the present Bethany Indian Mission was started in 1885. In 1881 Homme established in connection with these institutions a printing concern from which came the following publications (with dates of founding): *For Gammel og Ung* (For Old and Young) 1881; *Søndagsskolebladet* (Sunday School Paper) 1887; *Weisenhus Kalender*, 1885; *Christian Youth*, 1891; *Sunday School Helper*, 1892. Homme edited all these periodicals. On his deathbed in 1903 he deeded all these properties to the United Norwegian Lutheran Church.

Bersvend Anderson was born in Bardo, in the extreme north of Norway, December 7, 1821, and died in Bardo, Canada, June 14, 1917. Coming from a very poor family, and with almost no schooling, he began to testify at the age of fifteen and traveled in Norway as lay-preacher till the age of fifty-five, when he came to America. In 1876 he was ordained by the Hauge Synod. He was pioneer pastor in the Red River Valley of Minnesota and Northern Dakota. He went to Alberta, Canada, in 1894, being

the first Norwegian Lutheran pastor in that province. He was the father of organized lay-activity among the Norwegians in America, and took a leading part in organizing Inner Mission societies. He founded, and edited 1891-94, the periodical *Vidnesbyrd Fra Broderkredsen* (Testimony from the Circle of Friends).

Ludvig O. Fossum, born at Wallingford, Iowa, June 5, 1879, studied at Ansgar Seminary and Luther Seminary of the United Norwegian Church, ordained in 1902. In response to an appeal from the Kurds, Fossum organized the Lutheran Orient Mission Society in 1910 and went as missionary, founding a mission station at Soujbulak, Persia. From 1916 to 1919 his work was interrupted by the World War. He was appointed District Commander of the Near East Relief at Erivan, where he died in 1920 and lies buried at the foot of Mt. Ararat. His literary work was important. He reduced the Kurdish language to writing, published a Kurdish-English Grammar, a Kurdish Lutheran Hymnbook, Luther's Catechism and many tracts in Kurdish, all by the aid of the Society. He also published a Norwegian work, *Muhammedanismen*. His work includes unpublished manuscripts for a lexicon, geography, arithmetic, and history of Kurdistan.

Johan Peter Gjertsen, born in Søndfjor, Norway, October 25, 1803, educated in Bergen Cathedral School, emigrated in 1864, ordained by Scandinavian Augustana Synod in 1865. With the assistance of Prof. S. R. Gunderson of Augsburg Seminary, he founded the Zion Society for Israel in 1878, the oldest mission society among the Norwegians in America. He served as its president from 1878 to 1883. He died in Stoughton, Wisconsin, in 1892.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD*

1. Swedish Immigration

The roots of the Augustana Synod lie imbedded deep in the soil of the State Church of Sweden. As far back as 1638 Swedes colonized in America under the supervision of the Swedish crown. The New Sweden colony on the Delaware was lost to the Lutheran Church, but the Swedes continued to immigrate until by 1850 settlements sprang up in Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, and other states. The main motive for the exodus from the mother country was economical, though other causes contributed.

In the new world these immigrants met difficulties which were almost insurmountable. The journey across the sea was of long duration and the accommodations were far from good. In the new country there were no transportation facilities and so they had to set out for their destination in the "covered wagon" with all its hardships. They had no knowledge of the language and the geography of the land, they were practically without funds, and the new environments created new and difficult problems. Their number was depleted by sickness and suffering and many graves were dug along the way. Instead of moving in one body and destined for the same locality they came in smaller or larger groups which were largely determined by blood relationship or other accidental factors.

In the mother country they were nearly all members of the Lutheran church, and it was their purpose to remain true to that faith also in the new world. But here they came in contact with many sects which had struck roots already on American soil, especially the Methodists and the Baptists, who made every effort to win them for their denomination, and not always without success. They were like sheep without a shepherd until pastors of their own faith came in among them. They were not given much attention by the Lutheran synods in the East, since these were occupied with their own

* See Foreword for acknowledgment.

problems and had little or no knowledge of the West and their brethren in the faith who were taking possession of that part of the land. In 1851 some financial assistance was given them by three Lutheran synods, namely the Joint Synod of Ohio, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and the Pittsburgh Synod, but as the assistance was only in the form of offerings lifted in the congregations, it probably did not amount to a great deal. The Rev. Dr. William Alfred Passavant interested himself in their behalf, making several visits to the West, conferring with their leaders and being their spokesman before the other Lutheran bodies in the land.

2. Organization of Congregations and Synod

The first congregation was organized in 1848 in New Sweden, Iowa. Then followed similar organizations in Andover, Moline, Galesburg, Chicago, and in other places within Illinois and other states, especially Minnesota. Four pastors were instrumental in organizing these first congregations, namely, Lars Paul Esbjorn, Tuve Nilsson Hasselquist, Erland Carlson, and Eric Norelius, who had come to America, in 1850, 1852, 1853 and 1854 respectively. Under the leadership of Rev. Esbjorn the Swedes together with the Norwegians participated in the formation of the Northern Illinois Synod in 1851, which united with the General Synod in 1853. Under the efficient care of these pastors the work among the immigrants made rapid progress and soon three Scandinavian Conferences were formed, namely Chicago, Mississippi, and Minnesota.

The Northern Illinois Synod was composed of four national groups: Americans, Germans, Norwegians and Swedes, each one preaching the Gospel in its own language. The four groups differed in polity and practice. Serious efforts were made to weld the four groups into one body, but the national and other differences soon led to a separation. The Scandinavians, especially the Swedes, were poor unionists. They were also definitely committed to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, to which the Americans held but loosely. For this the Scandinavians fought and would tolerate no compromises.

In 1857 a Scandinavian professorship was founded at the Illinois State University, Springfield, Ill., then under the control of the Northern Illinois Synod, and Rev. Esbjorn was

elected to fill that chair. Due to the differences in doctrine and practice between the General Synod and the Scandinavians, as well as to complications which arose in connection with this professorship, it was decided to sacrifice the advantages of external union and withdraw from it. The affiliation with that synod and with the university ceased in 1860, and Rev. Esbjorn and his students moved their work to Chicago.

A general meeting of Swedes and Norwegians was called in Chicago at which preparatory steps were taken for the organization of a Scandinavian synod of their own. The plan was consummated at a convention held June 5, 1860, at Clinton (formerly Jefferson Prairie), Rock County, Wisconsin, when the Scandinavian Augustana Synod was formally organized and Rev. Hasselquist was elected its first president. When, in 1870, some of the Norwegians wished to use the liturgy of the Church of Norway, the Swedes and the Norwegians divided peaceably into two separate and independent synods, the Swedes continuing the old organization under the name of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod. "The Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod in North America" became the official name in 1894. The Norwegians divided into two groups, one taking the name of "The Norwegian-Danish Augustana Synod," and the other calling itself the "Norwegian Lutheran Conference."

3. Relation to Other Lutheran Bodies

In 1867 the Swedish Augustana Synod affiliated with the General Council and remained a part of that body until 1918, when the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod in the South merged and formed the United Lutheran Church. Since that time the Augustana Synod has not had any official connection with any other church body until 1930, when The American Lutheran Conference was organized consisting of the American Lutheran Church, the Norwegian Lutheran Church, the Augustana Synod, the Norwegian Free Church, and the United Danish Church.

The affiliation with the General Council brought the Synod in close touch with some of the other Lutheran groups in the land, and the relation between this body and the Synod remained very cordial throughout its existence. But the

Synod withdrew from the Council for various reasons, foremost of which was a growing conviction in the Synod that it could best do its work and serve its specific purpose as an independent church body. The Synod was not altogether satisfied with the organization of the Council, since other synods could affiliate with it after making certain reservations. There was not full and complete accord between the different participating groups. National and linguistic differences also contributed, the Council being German and the Augustana Synod using the Swedish almost exclusively in its work at that time. The Synod also felt that it had no real contact with the work of the Council outside of its participation in the foreign missions.

The Augustana Synod hails with sincere joy every approach between the various Lutheran groups in our land as well as in the world at large. When the U. L. C. merger took place, however, the dissatisfactions within the Synod toward the Council were crystalized in such a way as to prompt its withdrawal from the General Council. It is not yet ready to lose its identity and the conviction is strong within the Synod that it has not yet accomplished its work as a free, independent and autonomous organization. With other Lutheran groups it shares the hope that some day there will be one strong, united Lutheran church in America, but the approach will have to come through a natural and normal growth and development within the various groups. Nationalistic barriers still exert an influence and the Synod will not establish pulpit and altar fellowship with any Lutheran group which permits its ministry to hold membership in secret orders of any kind.

4. Doctrine and Practice

As a Christian body in general, and as an Evangelical Lutheran body in particular, the Synod accepts and acknowledges the Holy Scriptures as the revealed Word of God and as the only infallible rule and standard of faith and practice, and accepts and confesses, not only the three oldest Symbols (the Apostolic, the Nicene and the Athanasian), but also the unaltered Augsburg Confession as a brief but true exposition of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, said Confession being understood in accordance with the further development

of these doctrines as contained in the other symbolical books of the Lutheran Church.

The Augustana Synod has not changed or altered its doctrinal position since its organization, though changes have been made in its polity and practice. It has always regarded other Lutheran bodies as sister churches and the Reformed fold as fellow Christians in so far as these recognize the Trinity of the God-head, the divinity of Christ and the Bible as the Word of God. Uniformity in the order of service and of practice and polity is not considered necessary. Faith alone is the great bond of union between true Christians. The Galesburg Rule: Lutheran pulpits and altars for Lutherans only, is recognized, at least in principle, by pastors and congregations, and the great majority are governed by it. Exchange of pulpits or altar fellowship with the Reformed churches is neither sanctioned nor practiced in the congregations of the Synod. With reference to lodges and secret orders, the attitude of the Synod was most rigid and uncompromising at first, but in recent years there has been a gradual change, at least as far as practice is concerned. In principle the attitude of the Synod is the same even today, but members of the various fraternities are admitted into membership in the congregations, except where such orders are known to be actually infidel societies. No pastor in the Synod is permitted to hold membership in any secret order or fraternity. Such membership would automatically exclude him from the ministerium of the Synod. This provision is rigidly enforced. In community affairs, the pastors of the Synod co-operate with other church groups in matters where doctrine is not concerned.

In form of government, this body is synodical, with a president as the chief executive. The affairs of the Synod are attended to at the annual convention, which consists of an equal number of pastors and lay delegates elected by the congregations, one pastor and one layman for every fifteen hundred communicant members or fraction thereof. The Synod is divided into thirteen Conferences and three Mission Districts. The Conferences are named as follows: Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, New York, Nebraska, Columbia, California, Superior, New England, Red River Valley, Canada,

and Texas. The Synod has organized congregations in practically every state in the Union and in sections of the Dominion of Canada.

According to the statistics for 1860 the Synod consisted then of thirty-two pastors, sixty congregations and more than five thousand members. In 1930 it consisted of nearly a thousand pastors, more than twelve hundred congregations and over a quarter of a million adult members.

5. Institutions

Within the Synod there are seven educational institutions, one of which is owned and controlled by the whole Synod, while the remaining six are owned and supported by the Conferences. The Synodical institution, Augustana College and Theological Seminary, was founded in 1860 in Chicago. In 1863 it was removed to Paxton, Ill., and since 1875 has been located at Rock Island, Ill. The Conference schools are: Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minn.; Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan.; Upsala College, East Orange, N. J.; Luther College, Wahoo, Nebr.; Northwestern College, Fergus Falls, Minn.; and North Star College, Warren, Minn. The last three are junior colleges and the last two are owned and controlled by private corporations, but supported in part by the Red River Valley Conference.

There are twelve children's homes, fifteen homes for the aged, eleven hospitals, and a number of hospices and inns owned and supported by the Synod and its Conferences. The Deaconess Institute at Omaha, Nebr., has also a hospital, a home for the aged, an invalid home and a children's home in connection with it. The Synod also has a publication house, the Augustana Book Concern, at Rock Island, Ill.

6. Missions

The Augustana Synod has always been interested in missions since its very organization. Home missions is co-existent with the Synod itself. The Synod was organized for the purpose of doing home mission work among the scattered immigrants of Swedish extraction. This evangelistic work has had a place at the top of its program and it holds that place to this day. Now the entire United States is the Synod's home mission field since nationalistic and linguistic

barriers no longer limit the home mission field. The Synod has three mission fields under its direct supervision: the Inter-Mountain, the Montana, and the Southeastern Districts. The thirteen Conferences also each have home mission work of their own. In several of the Conferences travelling home mission secretaries are engaged who give all their time to this work. The growth of the Synod has not been as rapid as it might have been, but the gains which are being made are due to the home missionary spirit of its pastors and congregations.

The Synod's foreign mission work began as a more or less private enterprise. As early as 1861 a committee was appointed by the Synod for the purpose of creating interest in foreign missions and receiving and remitting donations for that work. In 1880 it was decided to support the mission of the General Council among the Telugu people in India. Later Porto Rico was also included. These two missions are still supported by the Synod. In 1902 the China Mission was started on the initiative of a small group in the Minnesota Conference and work was taken up in the Honan province of China with the Rev. Dr. A. W. Edwins as the first missionary. In 1908 the China Mission became a synodical enterprise and since that time it has enjoyed a steady growth and gained quite a hold in the hearts of the members of the Synod. The Sudan mission in Africa was also started as an individual enterprise on the initiative of the Rev. Ralph Hult and the support of the Foreign Mission Society among the students of Augustana College and Theological Seminary at Rock Island. The exigencies of the World War made changes in the original program and since 1921 the work in Africa has been carried on in the Tanganyika field and has become a synodical activity. The Iramba field is also synodical territory.

7. General Characteristics

The Synod is an autonomous body, thoroughly American in spirit and practice, and takes a very friendly attitude toward other Lutheran bodies. It is interested in a closer approach between them in the interest of advancing the Kingdom of God in the world. In many of its congregations the language of the land is used exclusively in the work of preaching and teaching, while some congregations are bi-lingual. All its Sunday School and young people's work is done in English.

Biographical Notes

Lars Paul Esbjorn, the venerable pioneer and pastor of the Augustana Synod, was born in the Delsboro congregation, Helsingland Province, Sweden, October 16, 1808. He was educated in the schools at Hudiksvall and Gefle, studied theology at Upsala, and was ordained at that place in 1832. After his ordination he served as assistant pastor at Ostra Wahla, Ostattsfors and Hille, in the arch-diocese of Upsala. In his early years he took an active part in the temperance agitation of northern Sweden. Supported by the Swedish Missionary Society of Stockholm, he came to America in 1849, and at once began his earnest and active labors among the newly arrived immigrants at Andover, Henry County, Illinois. He organized the Swedish Lutheran congregations at Andover and Moline (1850), Galesburg (1851), and Princeton (1856). Then followed his activity as theological professor at Springfield, Ill., as already stated. After his withdrawal from this institution, he served the Augustana Synod as theological professor until 1863, when he returned to Sweden. He labored as pastor at Ostra Wahla, where he died July 2, 1870.

Tuve Nilsson Hasselquist (D. D. Muhlenberg College, 1871), patriarch of the Augustana Synod, was born March 2, 1816, at Onsby, Diocese of Lund, Sweden. He was educated at Lund and ordained in 1839. He served a number of congregations in Sweden, and was known as an earnest evangelical preacher. In 1852 he received a call from the recently organized Swedish Lutheran congregation at Galesburg, Ill., which he accepted, becoming its pastor the same year. Under many self-denials, but with great zeal he served this congregation for eleven years. In addition, he made many missionary journeys to numerous places. In 1855 he began the publication of *Hemlandet*, the first Swedish political paper in America, and also *Rättä Hemlandet*, the first Swedish church paper in this country, which in 1869, under the title *Augustana*, became the official organ of the Augustana Synod. He continued as editor of this paper until his death. He prepared an excellent commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians. He became president of Augustana College, and at the same time was a professor in the theological seminary, where in the later years of his life he taught practical theology. In addition to his activity as a teacher, he was pastor of the Swedish Lutheran congregation, first at Paxton, and later at Rock Island, in which capacity he served until his death February 4, 1891. Dr. Hasselquist was a model of deep personal piety and had an earnest zeal for Christianity and for his church. As a theologian he belonged to the conservative and Biblical school of Bengel. He is properly re-

garded as the most distinguished preacher and Bible expositor which the Augustana Synod has had.

Eric Norelius was born in Hassela, Helsingland, Sweden, October 26, 1833. He studied for some time in Sweden until he emigrated to America at the age of seventeen, where he came in contact with Rev. Esbjorn at Andover, Ill. On the advice of Esbjorn he studied at Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, during the years of 1851-1854. The following year he was granted *venia concionandi* by the Northern Illinois Synod and his first charge was in Tippecanoe County, Indiana. God soon led his steps to Minnesota where he founded several churches until he was ordained in 1856 by the Northern Illinois Synod at Dixon, Ill., on the call to congregations in Red Wing and Vasa, Minn. Vasa became his home and the greater part of his ministerial service was confined to Goodhue County, Minn. He served as president of the Augustana Synod from 1874 to 1881, and again from 1899 to 1911, when he declined reëlection and was elected president emeritus for life. He was a preacher, an educator, a journalist and a writer. He founded a private school in Red Wing in 1862 which later became Gustavus Adolphus College, now at St. Peter, Minn. In 1865 he founded the Vasa Orphans' Home. He founded *Minnesota Posten*, the first Swedish weekly in the state of Minnesota. He became the editor of *Hemlandet* and later of *Augustana*, the synodical weekly. Together with Dr. Sjoblom he edited *Svensk Luthersk Kyrkotidning*, which later changed its name to *Skaffaren*. He also edited the annual *Korsbaneret*. As a writer he was very prolific. He was the author of *Handbok för Söndagsskolan*, 1865. In 1870 he wrote a treatise entitled *Ev. Luth. Augustana-synoden i Norra America och dess mission*, which was printed in Lund, Sweden. He was a liberal contributor to the church press and other synodical publications. His most important journalistic work is embodied in his two volumes: *De Svenska Lutherska Församlingarnas och Svenskarnas Historia i America*, published in 1890 and 1916. This is the most complete history of the Swedes in America on the market today. He died March 15, 1916, the last link in the chain that connects the pioneer days of the Augustana Synod with our own day and generation. Dr. Norelius left a lasting impression on the history and the future of the Augustana Synod.

Conrad Emil Lindberg was born in Jönköping, Sweden, June 9, 1852, and passed away at Chicago, Ill., August 2, 1930. After some preliminary studies in Sweden he emigrated together with his parents to America in 1871, where he came in contact with Rev. Erland Carlson of Chicago on whose advice he continued his studies at the synodical school then at Paxton, Ill. He received

his theological training at the Mt. Airy Seminary, Philadelphia, under Drs. Krauth and Mann and other professors. In 1874 he was ordained and took up the work as a pastor in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., where he served four years. He then accepted a call to the Gustaf Adolfs Church in New York where he remained until 1890, when he accepted a call to teach in the theological seminary at Rock Island, Ill. This position he held continuously until his death, a period of forty years. He was a good preacher and pastor but his real strength was in the classroom as an instructor. He more than any one individual has put his personal stamp upon the ministry of the Augustana Synod. He was a theologian, a thinker, and a devout Christian. He was also a writer of more than ordinary note. His chief work is *Encheiridion in Dogmatics* which is used in the classroom in Augustana and other seminaries. Besides articles published in the church papers and other publications he also wrote *Beaconlights of History* which came off the press after his death. He was also author of a textbook in Apologetics and one in Church Polity.

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CHAPTER XV

OTHER SCANDINAVIAN SYNODS

A. DANES¹

1. Danish Immigration and Congregations

Danish migration to America is roughly speaking very old. There were quite a number of Danes among the Dutch of New Netherlands, and some of them were members of the Dutch Lutheran congregations of New Amsterdam, *et al.* There were also some Danes among the Germans in Pennsylvania who were members of their Lutheran congregations. Among the older German Lutheran pastors of Pennsylvania, Peter Brunnholtz and J. C. Leps were Danes. A goodly number of Danes were members of Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania, some of whose most gifted pastors were Danes, and had been pastors in Denmark.

However immigration to any appreciable extent did not take place until the nineteenth century. Before 1840 it consisted mostly of mechanics, sailors, hunters, and a few physicians who settled largely in the Atlantic states. Between the years 1840 and 1870 emigration from the rural districts of Denmark began and has continued to this day, so that the Danes in America now number about half million, or about one-seventh of all the Danes in the world.

The Danes in the United States are scattered. As a rule they are not found in great numbers in any one city, with the exception of the cities of New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, Omaha, Racine, and San Francisco. The larger rural settlements are found in Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska and the Dakotas. There are Danes in all the states of the Union and in most of the large cities.

In regard to religious affiliation the Danes are perhaps even more scattered. A great many of the Danish immigrants between 1850 and 1870 were Mormons, and their descendants are now members of that body. Not a few who came here religiously indifferent, later became Methodists, Baptists, Adventists, *et al.* It would indeed be difficult to find a religious

¹ See Foreword for acknowledgment.

sect in America among whose members there are not some Danes. Very few, however, are Roman Catholics, and most of these have become so through marriage.

A number of the older Danish immigrants who were strongly attached to the Lutheran Church became members of the Norwegian and Swedish Lutheran Churches in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. But a great majority of the Danes who came to America in the earlier days did not unite with any church, and their descendants today belong to the great unbaptized multitudes of the country.

Lutheran mission work among the Danes in America lagged far behind that carried on among the Swedes and the Norwegians. The second Lutheran pastor among the Norwegians in America was a Danish lay preacher, Claus L. Clausen (1820-1892), who came to America in 1843 and was ordained October 18th of that same year near Milwaukee, Wis., by a German pastor, L. F. E. Krause. Although Clausen's work was principally among the Norwegians in Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota, still he showed a deep interest in his own countrymen. He organized several Danish congregations. Through correspondence and visits to Denmark, he brought to the attention of some pastors there the religiously destitute condition of the Danes in America. It was mainly through his influence that a "committee for the propagation of the Gospel among the Danes in America" was organized in Denmark in 1869. This committee was a voluntary organization of four clergymen and one layman. In 1871 it sent to America three men: Pastor A. C. L. Grove-Rasmussen of Gram in Schleswig, who was to survey the field and report to the committee on his return; and two laymen, Mr. A. S. Nielsen, and Mr. Rasmus Andersen. Mr. Nielsen had been a lay preacher for several years in Denmark; and Mr. Andersen had studied for the foreign mission field. Nielsen was called by a Danish congregation at Cedar Falls, Iowa, and was ordained by Pastor Clausen Nov. 17, 1871 at St. Ansgar, Iowa. Andersen was ordained in 1872 by Nielsen and became pastor of a Danish congregation at Waupaca, Wis. In 1871 two Danish foreign missionaries, Rev. N. Thomsen from India, and Rev. A. Dan from Africa, came to America to serve Danish congregations in Indianapolis, Ind., and Racine, Wis., respectively.

2. The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Clausen, at the time he ordained Nielsen, was president of the Norwegian-Danish Conference, founded 1870. He naturally expected that the Danish pastors, who had come to America partly through his influence, would join his organization. That hope was not realized. Pastor Grove-Rasmussen, in his report to the committee in Denmark on his return from America, warned against union with the Conference, because in his judgment it was too orthodox. The reason for this attitude on the part of Grove-Rasmussen, also of Nielsen and most of the members of the committee in Denmark, lay in the fact that these men were followers of N. F. S. Grundtvig. He and his followers did not consider the Holy Scriptures the formal principle of the Christian Church, but rather the Apostles' Creed. For them the Creed, and not the Bible, was the Word of God and the foundation of the Church.

In 1872 Pastors Dan, Thomsen and Andersen united with some laymen to form "The Missionary Association of the Church" (*Kirkelig Missionsforening*), and they started a weekly church paper, *Kirkelig Samler*, with Rev. A. Dan as editor. Six years later the name of the association was changed to "The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America," and a constitution of Grundtvigian complexion was adopted in which it was emphasized that said church was the true daughter of the Danish National Church. This church had no theological seminary; its candidates for the ministry had to come from Denmark, and were educated mostly under Grundtvigian influence.

In the course of the years there came to be pastors in this group who were not Grundtvigians, but who emphasized the Holy Scriptures as the formal principle of the Church, and worked accordingly in their congregations. This situation soon provoked a controversy. For some years a verbal conflict raged between the two parties. The controversy finally culminated in a rupture. In 1894 the Grundtvigians adopted a new constitution with the provision that those who did not subscribe to it within three months would automatically sever their connections with the Danish Church. Twenty-two pastors and their congregations failed to subscribe and were excluded. After the rupture the Grundtvigians were sustained by help

from Denmark. Several candidates came over from Denmark and served them for some years. However, this body is still quite small. In addition to Grand View College, Des Moines, Iowa, which is a synodical institution and has a theological seminary connected with it, the Danish Church also supports a number of independently owned high schools at Tyler, Minn., Nysted, Nebr., Solvang, Calif., and Ashland, Mich. It has orphans' homes in Chicago and in Tyler, Minn., and an old people's home at Des Moines. It also supports the home for consumptives and the old people's home at Brush, Colo. Home mission work is being done in Canada, and foreign mission work in conjunction with other societies in the Santal Mission in India. Its official organ is *Kirkelig Samler*.

3. The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America

The twenty-two pastors and their congregations who were left outside the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America thereupon organized in the fall of 1894 at Elk Horn, Iowa, under the name "The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America." This body published a weekly church paper, *The Missionary Messenger*. The Danish High School at Elk Horn, Iowa, (founded 1878) was purchased and used as a theological seminary. Rev. P. S. Vig (1854-1929) was elected professor. The weekly paper *Danskeren*, published by Rev. J. N. Jersild at Neenah, Wis., was also the organ of the "North Church," the name commonly given to this group.

4. The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church Association of 1884

In addition to the above-mentioned two groups, a number of Danes found their church home in the Norwegian-Danish Conference. These Danes were served principally by Danish pastors educated at Augsburg Seminary, belonging to the Norwegians. In 1884, with the consent of the Conference, they organized "The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Association of America," and started a theological seminary the same year at Blair, Nebr., under the name "Trinity Seminary," with Rev. A. M. Andersen (1847—) as its first president. The church paper *Kirkebladet*, whose beginning goes back to 1877, became the organ of this new organization.

5. The United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

After considerable discussion in the papers, and several meetings, the two last named church bodies agreed to unite. A committee was appointed to prepare articles of agreement which were adopted by the annual meetings of both bodies. In the fall of 1896 delegates from both groups met in Minneapolis and formed the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. Its first president was Rev. G. B. Christiansen (1851-1929). The United Church had then sixty-three pastors and eight missionaries, one hundred twenty-one congregations and thirty-five preaching places. It has made a substantial growth since that day. Both the educational institutions of the United Church, Trinity Theological Seminary and Dana College, are located at Blair, Nebr. The synodical publishing house is also located there. It has three orphans' homes, one at Elk Horn, Iowa, another at Waupaca, Wis., and a third in connection with the Indian Mission at Oaks, Okla. A sanitarium for consumptives and an old people's home at Brush, Colo., are supported by the Church. In Minden, Nebr., and Edmore, Mich., there are old people's homes also. Foreign missions are carried on in conjunction with the United Lutheran Church in Japan. Home mission work is being done at Oaks, Okla., among the Indians, among the Mormons in Utah, and among the Danish immigrants in Canada. Its official church papers are *Luthersk Ugeblad* and *Ansgar Lutheran*.

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B. ICELANDERS

The first settlement of Icelanders at Manitoba, Canada, and in Minnesota in 1875 was followed by immigration to North Dakota and to Northwest Canada. Pastor Jon Bjarnason and Pastor Pall Thorlackson organized congregations in Manitoba in 1877 and 1878. Thorlackson, after forming congregations in North Dakota, died there in 1882. In 1885 two pastors, Jon Bjarnason and H. B. Thergrimso, founded the Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North America. Bjarnason was president of this body for twenty-three years. The synod consists of about fifty congregations, the majority of which are in Canada. The synod publishes a monthly paper, *Sameiningin*, founded in 1883; it has its own Sunday school literature, liturgy and hymnal. It maintains an Old People's Home at Gimli, Manitoba, and Jon Bjarnason Academy at Winnipeg, Manitoba. To a considerable degree the Icelandic Synod has patronized the educational institutions of the Norwegian Synod and, subsequently, of the Norwegian Lutheran Church. In missionary work, the Icelandic Synod has been affiliated with the General Council and the United Lutheran Church, having a representative, Rev. S. O. Thorlaksson, in the latter's mission in Japan.

C. FINNS²

1. The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (Suomi Synod)

Although immigration from Finland to America had commenced in the early sixties of the last century, it was not before 1876 that the Rev. A. E. Backman, the pioneer minister among the Finns, came from Finland to Calumet, Michigan, where the earliest Finns had settled. He labored until 1883, when he returned to Finland. The second pastor was Rev. J. J. Hoikka, D. D., who completed his studies at the Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill., and was ordained in 1883. His work has meant much for the development of church work among the Finns in America. The third ordained minister was the Rev. J. K. Nikander, D. D., who came to America in 1885. He was the first president of the Suomi Synod and

² See Foreword for acknowledgment.

also the first president of Suomi College until his death in 1919. Two other ministers who came to America in 1888 are to be mentioned as pioneers, namely Rev. K. L. Tolonen and Rev. William Eloheimo. The latter withdrew from the Synod the following year and organized a church with an Episcopalian form of government, with himself as its first bishop. This church, however, soon passed out of existence.

The Suomi Synod was organized on March 25th, 1890, at Calumet, Mich., by the last four pastors named above, and seventeen lay delegates representing nine congregations. Nikander was elected president, Tolonen vice president, Eloheimo secretary, and Hoikka notary. Confessionally this synod stands near to the State Church of Finland, but differs from it in church government. Finland provided the ministers for it at the start, and even at the present time about fifteen percent of the pastors have been educated there. It is conservative in its spirit and practice.

The question of getting ministers for the thousands of unchurched Finns was the most serious problem before the new synod. For this reason plans were made at the first annual meeting for the organization of a school for the training of pastors. It was in 1896 that this plan was finally worked out, and Suomi College and Theological Seminary was founded in Hancock, Michigan. It has already completed thirty-seven years of continuous activity. Over eighty per cent of the pastors of the synod have been educated in this institution; the total number of alumni of the five different departments, viz., Academy, Junior College, Music Department, Commercial Department, and Theological Seminary, numbers about eight hundred. The Rev. J. Wargelin, A. M., D. D., is the president.

The work of the synod is carried on through different boards and departments. The highest governmental power is invested in the general synodical convention held annually. An executive board (Consistory), consisting of four members exercises executive and disciplinary powers in the interim between church conventions. For practical purposes the territory is divided into six conferences, namely, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio-Pennsylvania, Eastern, Columbia, and California. Home mission work has been carried on very actively during the last ten years among the unchurched Finns found in scat-

tered communities in several states and Canada. In 1920 a plan of coöperation was adopted with the United Lutheran Church through its Immigrant Mission Board. As a result, effective work has been done, new churches have been organized, and many souls have been added to the church membership. Foreign mission work is done by supporting annually with a stipulated amount the work of the Foreign Mission Society of Finland, which has fields in Ovamboland, South Africa, and Honan, China.

In 1900 the synod purchased from some of its clerical members their publication interests, among them the official organ of the church, entitled *Paimen Sanomia*, which had been founded in 1888 by three of the pioneer ministers. The publication work has grown into a large institution, doing yearly almost \$100,000 worth of business. It imports and publishes books needed by the churches, and publishes several papers for the various activities of the synod. In 1921 another publication plant was established in Astoria, Oregon, but it has not yet met with much success.

The Suomi Synod is not large, numbering less than two hundred congregations, with about eighty independent churches affiliated with it. The synod has property assets of about two million dollars.

2. The Finnish National Lutheran Church

This body was founded in 1898, and incorporated three years later in Minnesota. Its leading member at the time of its organization was Rev. W. A. Mandellof, who returned to Finland after serving churches in America for about five years. Its confessional basis may be said to be ultra-evangelistic. "Free salvation" is preached to all, and less stress is placed on repentance and righteous life. The church meets annually at synodical conventions, where a Board of Directors of four members is elected for a term of four years, one each year.

The synod has not been very exacting in regard to the education of its ministers, the majority of them having served as lay preachers before their ordination, while others have been ordained in Finland. The synod has made attempts to conduct a theological seminary for the training of pastors at different times, and about six pastors have been received this way. But at the present time it has neither college nor seminary.

Home mission work is carried on to a certain extent in several states and Canada. Foreign mission work of the Gospel Society of Finland, with a field in Japan, has been supported very earnestly. But owing to the development of an unfriendly spirit towards the Gospel Society within the synod, this support has been withheld more recently. There is a leaning towards an affiliation with the Missouri Synod among many of the ministers of the synod, but no definite steps have been taken in that direction. The synod publishes its own church organ, *Auttaja*, at Ironwood, Michigan, where it has its headquarters. Sunday School work is well organized, and considerable interest is shown in work among young people. This synod has less than ten thousand members and about sixty congregations.

3. The Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Church

The churches in this group are found scattered in many states where the earlier settlements of Finns were established, the largest ones being in Calumet and Hancock, Michigan, New York Mills, Cokato and other large rural districts in Minnesota, and in Astoria, Oregon. It is difficult to give the exact number of churches and church members because no church records are kept, but the total number of churches has been estimated to be about seventy, with about thirty thousand baptized members. In church polity they are absolutely congregational.

These congregations are the followers of the Finnish revivalist, Provost Lars L. Laestadius, of Pajari, Sweden, who labored among the Finnish speaking people of that city until his death in 1861. Many of the early immigrants to America belonged to his group. They accept in general the creeds of the Evangelical Lutheran Church but differ in their interpretation in some important respects. They insist on conversion which is perfected through auricular or private confession before a preacher or brother in the faith, and there is no absolution of sins by any other means. They do not believe in an educated ministry and are dependent mostly on lay preachers. Of all the preachers serving their congregations today, only three are ordained ministers. Because of this attitude towards outward means in church life, they have no college nor sem-

inary, no missionary activity in the home or foreign mission fields, nor any synodical publication house.

The name "Apostolic Lutheran" was first adopted by a local church in Calumet, Michigan, about 1879, but has come into general use for all the churches of this group in America. In Finland the adherents to the teachings of Laestadius belong to the Lutheran Church of Finland, but in America they separated from the other groups very early.

About 1928 a loose organization of the churches holding to the teachings of Laestadius was formed. Yearly meetings are held, the chief function of them being to gather the people together for their spiritual nurture. The attendance has often reached about three thousand souls.

THE FOURTH PERIOD

MERGERS AMONG GENERAL BODIES

The fourth period opens at the time of the World War. A great church is confronted with great tasks, as a rope must bear greater loads than a thread. Work larger than the strength of any one Lutheran body required their joint energies. A larger measure of mutual understanding follows coöperative effort, and in some cases leads to union. Growing strength must face yet greater opportunities and greater opportunities require yet greater strength. Such reciprocal action is characteristic of growing organisms.

The war did much to hasten Americanizing movements. The passing of the use of foreign languages, whose tendency in America is segregation and separation, removes virtually the only barrier between certain Lutheran bodies. More than that, the spirit of the times is for coöperation and against competition and friction in Christian work.

Therefore, the fourth period is marked by a merging of general bodies having doctrinal unity and common linguistic inheritance. Some such unions have occurred, others are anticipated. It is also marked by a willingness of general bodies, with few exceptions, to meet in councils or conferences for the discussion of common problems or the administration of common tasks.

CHAPTER XVI

THE NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AMERICA¹

1. Preparatory Negotiations

There have always been among the Norwegian Lutherans in America certain common bonds, linguistic, literary, missionary, musical, institutional, etc. But it remained for the merger of 1917 to unite in one body by far the largest proportion of Norwegian Lutherans in America. Prior to 1890 the Norwegian Synod sought to bring about union by free conferences. The United Church, after its formation in 1890, had "Union" in its program. The year 1905 found Hauge's Synod raising the question of union with the Norwegian Synod, the United Church and the Free Church. The first two declared themselves ready to open negotiations, but the third, because of its congregational polity, could not participate officially.

The three bodies concerned elected their committees which met jointly for negotiation on articles of agreement. Their progress was as follows: March 27-30, 1906, a doctrine of Absolution was formulated; October 16-19, 1906, Lay Activity was defined with seven sections, an eighth being added in May, 1915; April 8, 1908, doctrines in regard to Call and Conversion were agreed upon. Next in order was the doctrine of Election and Predestination. March 29, 1910, brought a disagreement resulting in a stand-still. In 1911 the Norwegian Synod and the United Church elected new committees, since the deadlock concerned these bodies. The subsequent deliberations of these two synods led up to "OPGJØR" or "Settlement" adopted at Madison, Wisconsin, February 22, 1912. After this meeting a minority in the Norwegian Synod voiced strong objections to Opgjør, and submitted a "Proposal" which was accepted by the joint committee of all three bodies. This reduced the opposition in the Norwegian Synod to a very small number.

From 1912 to 1917 the committee held many meetings, at which the technical aspects of the merger were agreed upon.

¹ See Foreword for acknowledgment.

This included the drafting of articles of incorporation, of a constitution, of rules of procedure, and of plans for the consolidation of institutions and the geographical division of the church.

2. The Merger Convention

The time for the merger had been fixed for the Four-hundredth Anniversary of the Reformation. On June 7, 1917, the three bodies met separately in St. Paul, Minnesota, to conclude their corporate business. The first merger meeting, Saturday forenoon, June ninth, was an occasion for the highest enthusiasm. Marching in three groups, the merging bodies in impressive procession arrived at the St. Paul Auditorium, which they entered led by Hauge's Synod, the oldest of the three. More than two thousand delegates were in attendance in addition to thousands of visitors who crowded the Auditorium. The divine service began with a mighty *Te Deum* led by the Luther College band, the St. Olaf Choir and a chorus of over two thousand voices. Amid such stirring scenes came into being the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. The convention completed the formalities of merging by adopting the Articles of Incorporation and the Constitution. Officers elected were: President, Rev. H. G. Stub, D. D.; Vice President, Rev. J. N. Kildahl, D. D.; Secretary, Rev. N. J. Løhre, M. A.; Treasurer, Mr. Erik Waldeland.

A minority within the Norwegian Synod refused to enter the merger, organizing under the name "The Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church" and affiliating with the Synodical Conference.

3. Doctrinal Standards

The Holy Scriptures are accepted as the Word of God and therefore normative for doctrine and life. The Norwegian Lutheran Church accepts, as true interpretations of the teachings of God's Word, the confessional writings specified as the Apostles', Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism.

With regard to lay-activity we quote from the articles of merger, article "B," paragraphs 4 and 8:

This office of preaching does not abrogate the universal priesthood; but it is every Christian's privilege and duty as a spiritual

priest to work for mutual edification, either privately or at gatherings within congregations, each in his position and according to the opportunity and gifts which the Lord has given him. (I Peter 2:5-9; I Thess. 5:11; Art. of Schmal. III, 4.)

In order to avoid misunderstanding in the matter, the conferring bodies declare that they approve of the Christian lay-activity as determined in the joint report, and that they will encourage it. It shall, therefore, not be considered as unchurchly or as fanaticism that people gather for mutual prayer and energetic work for revival and spiritual life.

4. Organization

The constitution adopted in 1917 provided for nine districts in the Church. The general body met in convention every third year, with the districts meeting in the other two years of the triennium. In this plan actions adopted by two-thirds of the district conventions were binding on the whole Church. In 1926 the Constitution was changed to provide for a convention of the general body every two years with the district meetings on alternate years. The new order placed all legislative power in the general biennial convention of the Church. Besides the nine districts, one of which consists of the congregations in Canada, there is an English district transcending all district boundaries.

The president of the Church with the presidents of the districts and a lay-representative from each of the ten districts constitute an executive council whose work is administrative and advisory. To a large extent, however, the congregations are autonomous, as, for example, in calling a pastor, and in local church government. In liturgical matters the congregations may choose for themselves, but are advised, for the sake of uniformity, to use the order of the Church of Norway.

5. Work

a. Educational. The 1917 merger of the bodies was accompanied by the merger of their theological seminaries. Luther Seminary of the Synod in Hamline, St. Paul, the Red Wing (Minn.) Seminary of the Hauge Synod, and the Luther Seminary of the United Church in St. Anthony Park, St. Paul, were united to form Luther Seminary established in the St. Anthony Park property of the former United Church. The

Lutheran Normal of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., and Augustana College of Canton, S. Dak., were combined to form Augustana College in Sioux Falls. In addition to four colleges, the Norwegian Lutheran Church also maintains fourteen academies. The institutions are directed by a Board of Education of the Norwegian Lutheran Church.

b. Home Missions. The Home Mission work of the Church is directed by a Home Mission Board and subordinate committees in each district. This board also directs the work in five Seamen's Missions, work among the Winnebago Indians in Wisconsin, the natives of Alaska, the fishermen of Ketchikan, the deaf, dumb and blind at four state institutions, and the Synodical Evangelists. In addition to the diaspora, it also administers the Church Extension Fund.

c. Foreign Missions. The Board of Foreign Missions directs the work in three Mission fields, namely, China, Madagascar, and the Zulu Mission in South Africa.

d. Charities. The work of mercy centers about nine old people's homes, seven children's homes, and homefinding work in six states, three rescue homes and twenty-two city slum and hospital missions.

e. Finances. The finances of the Church are administered by a Board of Trustees of nine members, and by an Investment Committee that invests and manages all endowments.

f. Publications. The merger of the three bodies brought about a combination of publishing interests. The Augsburg Publishing House in Minneapolis is made up of the former property of Hauge's Synod, the United Church and the Norwegian Synod, the merger of holdings not being completely effected until 1932. Periodicals were also combined: *Lutheraneren* replaced *Budbaereren* (Hauge), *Ev. Luth. Kirketidende* (Synod), and *Lutheraneren* (United); *Lutheran Church Herald* took the place of the *Lutheran Herald* (Synod) and *United Lutheran* (United). *Teologisk Tidsskrift* was begun in 1917 but changed in 1929 into *Theological Forum*.

g. Pensions. The problem of Pastors' Pensions is handled by a Board of Pensions, which took over the funds of the three former Synods and directs the ingathering and disbursements of the fund.

h. Elementary Christian Education. The work in this field is directed by an independent Board which publishes text books and directs educational work through institutes and other forms of publicity.

6. Strength in 1917

The formation of the Norwegian Lutheran Church brought together into one religious body about ninety per cent of the Norwegian Lutherans in America, and over thirty per cent of all Norwegians in America. The following table gives the strength of the Norwegian Lutheran Church according to the last statistics published before the merger.

STRENGTH OF THE NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN CHURCH IN 1916

Body	Pastors	Congregations	Members
Hauge Synod	162	373	34,918
Norwegian Synod	350	986	150,547
United Church	519	1,650	289,250
Merged Total	1,031	3,009	474,715

7. Relations with Other Lutheran Bodies

During the time of the World War, the Norwegians shared in the work of the National Lutheran Commission for Soldiers' and Sailors' Welfare. When the National Lutheran Council was organized in 1918, the Norwegian Lutheran Church participated heartily. Dr. H. G. Stub, president of that body, became the president of the Council. His son, Rev. J. A. O. Stub, served as Western field superintendent of the National Lutheran Commission 1917-18, and executive secretary 1918-19. Rev. Lauritz Larsen was secretary of the National Lutheran Commission 1917-20 and president and executive secretary of the National Lutheran Council from 1920 to his death in 1923.

The Norwegian Lutheran Church joined with the American Lutheran Church, Augustana Synod, Lutheran Free Church, and the United Danish Church in the formation of The American Lutheran Conference at Minneapolis in 1930.

CHAPTER XVII

THE UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

1. Lutheran Relationships

The United Lutheran Church is the legitimate fruitage of the Muhlenberg planting in Colonial times. The weak, scattered congregations, using the German, Swedish, Dutch and English languages, discovered that certain types of co-operation were imperative if the Lutheran Church were to survive in America. While Muhlenberg cannot be justly charged with confessional indifferentism or lax Lutheranism, the very circumstances of frontier life stressed the value of joint effort above that of doctrinal exactness. This being the case, it is not a matter of surprise that there arose a generation that knew not the importance of fidelity to the historic faith of the Church. As a kite, whose string has broken, flutters downward, so the Lutheran Church in America, torn from her confessional connections, headed for loss of identity.

The conflict, which resulted when conservatives sought the reestablishment of loyalty to the Confessions, brought much bitterness. Lawsuits were the least of the troubles. Persistent conflict and competition on the home mission field, an intermittent literary war, duplication of institutions and a considerable amount of misunderstanding and ill-feeling gradually taught the lesson that Lutherans must solve their problems together. More than that, the Church had arisen from the depths of "American Lutheranism" to a consciousness of the value of Lutheran history, doctrine and practice. Many factors entered into this development, chief of which was the study and publication in English of Lutheran literature. In the course of time the three general bodies, the General Synod, the General Council and the United Synod, came to have a speaking acquaintance in the exchange of fraternal delegates. In a less official way, there came to be joint effort in many spheres of practical effort. Of especial importance was the collaboration of the three bodies in the preparation and publication of the "Common Service." Such unity in devotional forms made possible the movement of members

and pastors from one general body to another. In this brief review of the drawing together of the three groups, there must be mentioned also the Free Conferences, first in 1877 and 1878, and later in 1898, 1902 and 1904. On these occasions the reality of Lutheran relationship came to be recognized. Whatever differences had arisen, Lutheran blood was bound to tell.

There had also been real rapprochement in doctrine. The doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession were much discussed. Against the unionistic interpretations of Dr. S. S. Schmucker there appeared the conservative discussions of Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth in his *Augsburg Confession* of 1868 and in the many articles from his pen. The "Holman Lectures" on the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession, which were delivered annually at the Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, also made their contribution. The influence of books such as Dr. Krauth's *Conservative Reformation*, Dr. Jacobs' *Introduction to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church*, etc., has been mentioned. In the General Synod a spirit of antipathy to the Formula of Concord had been cultivated, especially through the writings of Dr. M. Valentine and Dr. J. W. Richard. There was opposition to everything outside of the Augsburg Confession, which expressed itself in the phrase adopted at the convention in Des Moines, Iowa: "The Augsburg Confession—nothing more, nothing less!"

But there was a constantly growing number of men in the General Synod who looked upon the confessional writings in the Book of Concord as an historical organism in which each document has its own place: the Apology as Melancthon's commentary to the Confession, the Smalkald Articles as a special testimony from Luther, and the Formula of Concord as an authoritative interpretation or development of controverted points in the Augsburg Confession. This position could be taken without ignoring the principle that in the historic development of the Reformation we must recognize the fact that no age on this side of eternity can completely exhaust all truth and that with the Sixteenth Century the Holy Spirit has not ceased His work in the Church. The doctrinal agreement between the General Synod, the General Council and the

United Synod in the South found its expression in the forms of the "Common Service," also in the forms for Ministerial Acts. It was witnessed also in a truly Lutheran interpretation of the Catechism and in a large devotional literature that was springing up. Neither should it be overlooked that an especially valuable pioneer work for the union of the three bodies had been done by *The Lutheran World*, published by the Conservatives in the General Synod, with Dr. David H. Bauslin as its editor. The bridges were built, which contributed much to the final realization of the United Lutheran Church.

Finally, the World War emphasized Lutheran relationships. Lutheran boys at the front, of whatever general body, were still Lutheran boys. And in caring for them, because of a desire to coöperate as well as because of the requirement of the government, representatives of nearly all the Lutheran bodies in America united in forming the National Lutheran Commission for Soldiers' and Sailors' Welfare. This Commission raised a sum of \$1,380,000 from 1917 to 1921, supported camp pastors, in which work one hundred fifty-five ministers were used, provided literature and other supplies for religious work, and recommended candidates for chaplaincies in the army and navy. At the time of the signing of the armistice there were sixty-eight Lutheran chaplains in the army and eleven in the navy.

The existence of many other problems resulting from the war, which the Commission was not prepared to handle, made necessary the formation of another organization, similar to, and to some extent growing out of, the Commission. Accordingly there was organized in 1918 the National Lutheran Council whose scope and powers were sufficiently large and of an administrative, not a legislative sort. All Lutheran bodies except the Synodical Conference were affiliated. It was planned that in the National Lutheran Council the Lutherans of America might present a united front against the world in publicity and statistics, and in relation to non-Lutheran bodies and social problems. The achievements of Lutherans thus working together have been noteworthy in publicity, in saving the mission stations of European Lutherans in heathen lands to the Lutheran Church, in giving relief to impoverished Lutherans in Europe following the war, in helping in the reestablishment

of Lutheran churches in Europe, and in giving support to Lutheran minorities either being discriminated against or persecuted. Results also were obtained in conferences and co-operation in work in America. While all this work growing out of war conditions involved more than the general bodies of the Muhlenberg heritage, it rendered most easy and natural the formation of the United Lutheran Church.

2. The Merger Proposed

It had been agreed that the celebration of the Quadri-Centennial of the Reformation in 1917 should be an inter-synodical affair. As early as 1909 the General Council was planning for the celebration. Other general bodies were invited to appoint members to a joint committee, with the result that the General Council, the United Synod, the General Synod, the Joint Synod of Ohio, and the Synod of Iowa and Other States were represented. This Joint Quadri-Centennial Committee accomplished a great work in matters of public meetings, literature and publicity, and in the raising of a large Quadri-Centennial Fund.

Proposing a merger of general Lutheran bodies, however, was the greatest achievement of the Joint Quadri-Centennial Committee. At the first meeting of the Joint Committee in 1914, Mr. E. Clarence Miller introduced a resolution advocating the merging of the three general bodies as a climax of the celebration to be held in 1917. But the Committee felt that the time was not yet ripe for such a move. The activity of the laymen, however, was continued with the result that a gathering of eight influential laymen the evening of April 17, 1917 expressed themselves in this manner: "Resolved that this gathering request the Joint Lutheran Committee to arrange a general meeting of Lutherans to formulate plans for the unification of the Lutheran Church in America." The next day, April 18, 1917, the Hon. John L. Zimmerman, chairman of the laymen's gathering, presented the resolution before a meeting of the Joint Quadri-Centennial Committee. He explained that the proposed merged body could legally take over the property of the existing bodies. Mr. E. Clarence Miller presented a merging plan of six brief items. Dr. H. E. Jacobs proposed the following resolution, which was adopted: "Believing that the time has come for the more complete

organization of the Lutheran Church in this country, we propose that the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod in the South, together with all other bodies one with us in our Lutheran Faith, be united as soon as possible in one general organization, to be known as The United Lutheran Church in America." Dr. J. A. Singmaster, in his report as President to the General Synod in 1917, summarized the movement in these words: "The sentiment prevailed that the noblest memorial of the four hundredth anniversary would be the merging of the three general bodies represented."

The presidents of the three bodies, Dr. T. E. Schmauk of the General Council, Dr. J. A. Singmaster of the General Synod, and Dr. M. G. G. Scherer of the United Synod, were present at this memorable meeting of April 18, 1917, and were asked to form a joint committee to prepare a constitution and a statement of doctrine. These presidents met the day following in the faculty room of the Theological Seminary at Mt. Airy and began their work. The committee, which they organized, carefully worked out a constitution. Dr. Singmaster prepared a series of resolutions dealing with methods of adopting the constitution by the participating bodies, and with the details of actual merging. The presidents assumed the responsibility of presenting these documents to their respective bodies at their next convention. In this way the proposal to merge into the United Lutheran Church came before the Church in the early summer of 1917.

3. The Merger Effected

The proposed constitution and practical resolutions were adopted by the three general bodies: the General Synod, June 22nd, 1917, at Chicago; the General Council, October 25th, 1917, at Philadelphia; the United Synod, November 6-8, 1917, at Salisbury, N. C. This action was ratified by all the district synods, with the single exception of the Augustana Synod, which withdrew from the General Council November 12 and 13, 1918.

The Merger Convention was held in New York City,, November 14-18, 1918, in the Holy Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, Central Park West, and Sixty-fifth Street, and in the Engineering Societies' Building, 29 West Thirty-ninth Street. The Merging Resolutions provided for a Joint

Committee on Ways and Means which worked out and prepared all the details of the Merger Convention. The three merging bodies met simultaneously, the General Synod and the General Council convening in New York, the United Synod meeting in Roanoke, Va., and holding adjourned meetings in New York. Each body concluded its business and officially notified the others of its readiness to merge. The delegates of the merging bodies met for the first session of the Merger Convention of the United Lutheran Church in America at 3:30 P. M., Thursday, November 14th, 1918 in Holy Trinity Church for organization. The first Religious Service was held at 8 P. M., conducted by the presidents of the three uniting bodies. It was a great and inspiring occasion. The Rev. H. E. Jacobs, D. D., LL. D., Dean of the Theological Seminary at Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa., preached the sermon. The Holy Communion was administered to the delegates. The succeeding sessions completed the work of organization. Officers elected were: President, Rev. F. H. Knubel, D. D.; Secretary, Rev. M. G. G. Scherer, D. D.; Treasurer, Mr. E. Clarence Miller. On Friday evening, November 15th, in the presence of an immense audience, a Public Merger Meeting was held in the Grand Auditorium of the Hotel Astor. On Sunday three Jubilee Mass Meetings were held, one in the afternoon in the Hippodrome, one in the evening in the Academy of Music in Brooklyn, and another in the evening in the Orpheum Theatre in Jersey City.

4. Doctrinal Standards

The United Lutheran Church, in Article II of her constitution, has set forth her doctrinal basis, as follows:

"Section 1. The United Lutheran Church in America receives and holds the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the inspired Word of God, and as the only infallible rule and standard of faith and practice, according to which all doctrines and teachers are to be judged.

"Section 2. The United Lutheran Church in America accepts the three ecumenical creeds: namely, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, as important testimonies drawn from the Holy Scriptures, and rejects all errors which they condemn.

"Section 3. The United Lutheran Church in America receives and holds the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as a correct ex-

hibition of the faith and doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, founded upon the Word of God; and acknowledges all churches that sincerely hold and faithfully confess the doctrines of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession to be entitled to the name of Evangelical Lutheran.

"Section 4. The United Lutheran Church in America recognizes the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalkald Articles, the Large and Small Catechisms of Luther, and the Formula of Concord, as in the harmony of one and the same pure Scriptural faith."

Acceptance of this doctrinal basis is required of all synods applying for admission (Article IV, Section 2). Among the objects of the United Lutheran Church listed in Article VI are the preservation and extension, the guarding, strengthening and cultivating of this faith. One of the "Powers" (Article VIII) of the United Lutheran Church is the protection and enforcement of this Doctrinal Basis, as detailed in section 6.

5. Church Government

The United Lutheran Church is a well-organized, representative body, in which the congregations are the primary units. The congregations elect representatives to the synods, and through their representatives in synods elect delegates to the conventions of the United Lutheran Church. The congregations are thus united in a general body, not to govern themselves, but to carry on operations of common interest. Among other purposes stated in the constitution, the United Lutheran Church is to "awaken, coördinate and effectively direct" such work as ministerial education, missions, regulation of the liturgy, preparation and publication of literature, organization and administration of boards, laying apportionments and gathering funds for its purposes, general oversight of synods, and relations to other bodies. It is expressly stated that the United Lutheran Church has power to form and dissolve relations with general bodies and movements external to it. Synods, conferences and boards are denied this power. With respect to internal affairs the United Lutheran Church has power to deal with only such matters as affect all constituent synods. The power of the United Lutheran Church may be exercised within the domain of a synod only with the synod's consent and coöperation. The United Lutheran Church

may counsel constituent synods in the interest of intersynodical harmony. But no synod may change its boundaries without the consent of the United Lutheran Church. Synods alone have power to discipline pastors and congregations. The general body may not interfere in the jurisdiction and administration of affairs of synods or congregations. Within the United Lutheran Church, synods may know and deal with each other only as synods. But synods and congregations, having had opportunity for representation, are bound by the decisions and resolutions of the general body in so far as the terms of mutual agreement make them binding.

The officers of the United Lutheran Church are a president, a secretary and a treasurer, the first two being full-time, salaried officers. Between conventions the Church functions through the Executive Board composed of the three officers of the United Lutheran Church, six clerical and six lay members. It is the duty of this Board to coordinate the work of the Church, prepare a budget, fill vacancies, and administer the affairs of the Church. The varied interests of the Church are administered by Boards and Committees.

6. Organization of Boards

More than thirty boards, elective and standing committees carry on the work of the United Lutheran Church. The Boards and Elective Committees are elected by and are amenable to the United Lutheran Church. Vacancies occurring between conventions are filled by the Executive Board. Members of the Commission of Adjudication may not be members of any board, nor may any person be a member of more than two boards or serve more than two terms in succession. The president of the United Lutheran Church has a seat and voice in all boards and the Commission of Adjudication.

The boards have power to incorporate, to elect their own officers and employees, and to carry on their work. They must make full reports at all conventions, together with audited accounts of their finances. The Women's Missionary Society may appoint two women advisory members to each of those boards to which it contributes.

The general policy of each board and committee is determined by the United Lutheran Church. In the period between conventions, reports of meetings of boards and com-

mittees must be given to the Executive Board. Requests for amounts to be included in the budget of the Church must be made to the Executive Board. Any propaganda and requests for offerings among the congregations aside from budget amounts are not permitted without the consent of the Executive Board.

7. Commission of Adjudication

A unique and valuable feature of the organization of the United Lutheran Church is the Commission of Adjudication. Article XII, Section 1, reads:

"A Commission of Adjudication shall be established to which shall be referred, for interpretation and decision, all disputed questions of doctrine and practice, and this Commission shall constitute a court for the decision of all questions of principle or action arising within The United Lutheran Church in America, and which have been properly referred to it by resolution or by appeal of any of the Synods."

The Commission consists of six ministers and three laymen, "learned in the doctrine, the law and the practice of the Church." Decisions must have the consent of at least six members of the Commission. Reports of its actions and decisions must be made at the conventions of the Church, when appeals from its decisions may be made. There has been provided a method of appeal from the decision of the Commission of Adjudication, but the decision may be reversed only by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

It is to be noted that the Commission is not a court where individuals or congregations may appeal from the decisions of synods. The Commission is not required to decide upon matters of fact, but simply to give interpretations of the constitution, laws, principles and practices of the Church. The Commission has adopted a set of "Rules of Practice and Procedure" as specifying the method of its conduct. The Commission has given decisions on such questions as the congregational membership of pastors, the constitutionality of a by-law, the power of the Executive Board, the power of a synod to dissolve a pastoral relation, the legality of the action of a congregation, and the power of the United Lutheran Church over her theological seminaries.

8. Institutional Policies

Not centralization, but unification, is the keynote of the institutional policies of the United Lutheran Church. Title and direction of institutions are to be in the hands of synods or groups within the Church. The Inner Mission Board has adopted the policy of leaving the management and support of institutions in the hands of congregations and synods. In the case of Inner Mission institutions owned by general bodies before the merger, there has been the gradual transfer of them to synods or groups of synods. The Inner Mission Board neither founds nor owns any institutions. It desires to be a unifying rather than a directing agency.

The same principles operate in the work of the Board of Education. All educational institutions are to be under the direction and control of synods. The work of the Board is to survey the work, give financial and other support, provide Lutheran student pastors at non-Lutheran institutions, and advance the work of ministerial education. The Board has insisted that the institutions must teach Bible and related subjects, and that in this and other respects the educational institutions of the Church must be positively Christian in character. Under the authority of the Board and the Church a Survey of Higher Education in the United Lutheran Church was made under the direction of professors of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York and completed in 1928. This survey served to clarify the aims and needs of the institutions within the United Lutheran Church.

The policy in the training of pastors for bi-lingual work was changed at the 1930 convention. The institutions at Breklum and Kropp revived following the war. As the general bodies supporting them had merged, it was arranged that these institutions should merge also, academic instruction to be given at Breklum and theological courses at Kropp. Graduates were required to do post-graduate work in America. At the 1930 convention, however, the United Lutheran Church severed its relation with the Breklum-Kropp institutions and adopted a policy of establishing linguistic departments in American institutions, training American-born men for bi-lingual parish work, and permitting study abroad in some cases after graduation in America.

9. The Washington Declaration

The "Declaration of Principles Concerning the Church and Its External Relationships," adopted at the 1920 convention at Washington, D. C., was an outgrowth of Home Mission contacts. Certain other Lutheran bodies insisted that before there could be coöperation in Home Mission work there must be certain agreements concerning Doctrine and Practice. It was proposed that a conference to settle these matters should be held. At the request of the representatives of the United Lutheran Church, the Conference also had before it certain papers concerning the Catholicity of the Church. The first Conference, held in 1919, reached an agreement on the theses concerning Doctrine and Practice, but failed to agree on the other matters. A second Conference was held in 1920 with no better result. Soon afterward, at a meeting of Presidents of General Bodies, it was decided to abandon the Conferences.

Under the direction of the Executive Board, the theses concerning the Catholicity of the Church was reshaped and presented to the United Lutheran Church for adoption as a "Declaration of Principles Concerning the Church and Its External Relations." This document may be outlined as follows: A. Concerning the Catholic Spirit in the Church. On the basis of the Confessions declaration is made concerning what the Church is, where found, how recognized, how characterized, how it expresses itself, whom it includes, and what spirit its parts should have toward each other. B. Concerning the Relation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church Bodies to One Another. The United Lutheran Church declares itself ready for coöperation and union with all subscribing the Lutheran Confessions. C. Concerning the Organic Union of Protestant Churches. It is declared that unity in faith is a matter to which organic union is secondary. Hence there must first of all be agreement in doctrine. D. Concerning Coöperative Movements Among the Protestant Churches. The United Lutheran Church can coöperate in works of mercy when there is no surrender, denial or suppression of its own doctrine. It cannot coöperate with groups that deny Gospel doctrine, in movements that compromise the position of the United Lutheran Church, or that lie outside the proper sphere of Church activity. E. Concerning Movements and Organizations In-

jurious to the Christian Faith. The Church warns against all whose teachings are contrary to and subversive of the Christian faith. The Declaration as a whole was adopted by a unanimous, rising vote.

10. Enlargement of the Mission Field

Notable advance was made in the Foreign Mission field despite distressing and serious financial handicaps. The number of missionaries in the years 1920 to 1930 increased from 146 to 187. In India the Guntur and Rajamundry Missions were merged, and subsequently the Lutheran Church in the Andhra Country of India was organized. Rev. J. Roy Strock, D. D., raised about \$300,000 in America for the Lutheran share in the founding of Andhra Christian College. A theological seminary in India was authorized. The Jeypore Field, which the Schleswig-Holstein Missionary Society was unable to care for following the war, was placed under the direction of the United Lutheran Board. When the Schleswig-Holstein Society was able to resume support, the East Jeypore Field was donated to the United Lutheran Mission.

In Africa the mission has been gradually pushing into the interior and extending its influence. In Japan a theological seminary was begun and evangelistic work started in several of the large cities. In South America work was continued in British Guiana. In 1919 the Board took over the work of the Pan-Lutheran Society for South America which was located in Buenos Aires. This mission was reorganized and has been very aggressive, being in coöperation with the La Plata Synod. In 1924 the Board purchased the Shantung Mission in China from the Berlin Mission Society for \$185,500. The Mission includes congregations, schools and a hospital. A number of the Berlin missionaries were retained by the Board and reinforcements were sent from America. This mission has become part of the Lutheran Church in China.

The work in the home field has become remarkable for its size and complexity. In 1926 the Board of American Missions was organized as a merger of five other boards: the Board of Home Missions and Church Extension, the Board of Northwestern Missions, the Immigrants' Mission Board, the West Indies Mission Board, and the Committee on Jewish Missions. The work of the Board extends from the West Indies to

Alaska. Languages used in the missions of the Church are English, German, Slovak, Hungarian, Finnish, Lettish, Lithuanian, Esthonian, Italian, Yiddish and Spanish. A mission among the American Indians uses the Cree language. Aggressive English missions are being cultivated, especially in the great metropolitan centers. German missions are the largest of the linguistic group, with activity notably in the Canadian Northwest. In the West Indies, mission stations are located in Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands. A mission church is supported in the Harlem district of New York for West Indians in that district. Work in Spanish also is carried on in New York for white West Indians.

In 1930 there was organized the Lutheran Home Missions Council of America in which are represented the Lutheran bodies belonging to the National Lutheran Council. It is hoped that through this organization competition, overlapping and disagreements may be avoided in the Home Mission enterprise.

11. Attitude Toward Other Lutheran Bodies

It had been hoped that more than three general bodies would be included in the merger of 1918. This hope, though disappointed at that time, continues to be expressed in the preamble to the Constitution of the United Lutheran Church in these words: "We, members of Evangelical Lutheran congregations in America, associated in Evangelical Lutheran Synods, . . . Hereby unite, and now invite and until such end be attained continue to invite all Evangelical Lutheran congregations and synods in America, one with us in the faith, to unite with us, upon the terms of this Constitution, in one general organization, to be known as THE UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA." Article VI, "Objects," section 7, reads: "To enter into relations with other bodies in the unity of the faith and to exchange official delegates with them." In the Doctrinal Basis it is declared that the United Lutheran Church "Acknowledges all churches that sincerely hold and faithfully confess the doctrines of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession to be entitled to the name of Evangelical Lutheran." Further statement is made in the "Declaration of Principles Concerning the Church and Its External Relationships," section B. Concerning the Relation

of the Evangelical Lutheran Church Bodies to One Another: "In the case of those Church Bodies calling themselves Evangelical Lutheran, and subscribing the Confessions which have always been regarded as the standards of Evangelical Lutheran doctrine, The United Lutheran Church in America recognizes no doctrinal reasons against complete coöperation and organic union with such bodies."

The United Lutheran Church has exchanged greetings by official visitors or letters with the Augustana Synod, the United Danish Lutheran Church, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Suomi Synod), the Evangelical Finnish National Lutheran Church, the Norwegian Lutheran Church, the Icelandic Synod, the American Lutheran Church, and the Lutheran Free Church. The Augustana Synod has coöperated with the Board of Foreign Missions in support of the India Mission, and with the Board of Education in caring for Lutheran students at the universities. Support of the Japan Mission has been shared by the United Danish Lutheran Church and by the Icelandic Synod. The United Lutheran Church and the Icelandic Synod have jointly supported an academy in Manitoba, Canada. Missions among the Finns in America have been carried on by the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church and the United Lutheran Church together. There has also been a measure of coöperation with pastors of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in Lutheran Student work. Where there has been active, financial coöperation, representatives of these other Lutheran bodies have been granted regular or advisory membership on the Boards whose work they share. The United Lutheran Church desires to strengthen and increase these relations with other Lutheran bodies.

12. Mergers of Constituent Synods

The reality of the unity of the United Lutheran Church is evidenced by the voluntary mergers of many synods occupying the same territory. State lines have usually been made synodical boundaries. The first synodical merger occurred on November 18, 1919, when the Pittsburgh Synod was formed by uniting the two synods of that name, the one of the General Synod, the other of the General Council. June 10, 1920, was a day of two mergers. The Michigan Synod was organized from the Northern Indiana Synod of the General Synod and

part of the Chicago Synod of the General Council. On that same day the Illinois Synod was formed from part of the Chicago Synod of the General Council, and the Northern, the Central, and the Southern Illinois Synods of the General Synod. June 24, 1920, is the date of the organization of the Indiana Synod from part of the Chicago Synod of the General Council and the Olive Branch Synod of the General Synod. On November 4th, 1920 the Synod of Ohio was organized, a merger of the District Synod of Ohio of the General Council, the East Ohio, Miami and Wittenberg Synods of the General Synod. There was a merger on March 2, 1921 of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and Ministerium of North Carolina and the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod into the United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina. March 17, 1922 was the day of the organization of the United Lutheran Synod of Virginia (the word "United" was soon dropped) by a merger of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and Ministerium of Southwestern Virginia, with whom the Holston Synod had united, and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and Ministerium of Virginia. In November, 1922, the South Carolina Conference of the North Carolina Synod was received into the Synod of South Carolina. On September 5, 1923, the Synod of Central Pennsylvania and the Susquehanna Synod merged into the Susquehanna Synod of Central Pennsylvania. On January 27, 1925, the Virginia Conference of the North Carolina Synod was received into the Lutheran Synod of Virginia. June 12, 1925 the Synod of Central Canada united with the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada, taking the name of the latter. On June 5, 1929 the United Lutheran Synod of New York was formed by the merging of the New York Ministerium, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of New York and New England (both formerly of the General Council), and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of New York (formerly of the General Synod). Further mergers within the state of Pennsylvania have been proposed.

CHAPTER XVIII

AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH*

1. Preparatory Influences

The three independent German synods, which united to form the American Lutheran Church, had certain mutual contacts for many years. After the Ohio Synod had withdrawn from the Synodical Conference, a private conference on doctrinal matters between leaders of Ohio and Iowa had been held at the instance of Prof. Gottfried Fritschel. The first official move was made in 1887 when the Ohio Synod proposed to the Iowa an official conference of representatives. Obstacles intervened, and it was not until six years later that a colloquy was held in Michigan City, Ind., and certain theses formulated. But these theses failed to be accepted by the two synods. After fifteen years negotiations were renewed, resulting in a meeting in 1909 in Toledo, O., where were formulated certain theses (the so-called "Toledo Theses") which were accepted by both synods. On this basis a certain coöperation was established, but it was not until 1918 that complete fellowship between the two bodies became a fact.

2. The Merger Proposed

At a convention of the Eastern District of the Iowa Synod in 1919, Pastor P. Kluepfel read a paper on the possibility of merger, in consequence of which a resolution was adopted urging the synod to coöperate with Ohio in formulating a plan for organic union. This resolution was adopted also by the Northern Illinois Conference and the Texas Synod of the same body. In accordance with this resolution, the Iowa Synod communicated with the Ohio Synod, which in 1920 authorized representation in a joint committee to consider merger. The report of this committee two years later, recommending a committee of inquiry in each synod, was approved by Ohio, but passed by without action by Iowa. Matters were thus at a standstill. In 1923 the Fremont Local Conference, consisting of both Iowa and Ohio pastors, sent a letter and question-

* See Foreword for acknowledgment.

naire to each pastor of the two synods inquiring as to his attitude toward organic union. Ninety per cent of the replies favored union. The activity of the Joint Commission being revived, union was proposed to the two synods in 1924. That same year the districts of the Ohio Synod, to whom the matter was referred, approved union by an almost unanimous vote.

The Buffalo Synod entered the picture in 1925 by authorizing a committee to investigate merger with Iowa and Ohio. During this same year the districts of the Iowa Synod voted approval of union. The Joint Commission appointed prepared a constitution and by-laws. The Iowa Synod in its 1926 convention authorized union and approved the proposed constitution and by-laws. But inadvertently there was a slight change in the wording of the confessional article as adopted by Iowa which seemed to make equivocal the doctrine of the Scriptures. This made Ohio hesitate. But in 1928 Iowa stated her position on the doctrine of the Inspiration and Inerrancy of Scripture, showing that her teaching was both in agreement with and acceptable to Ohio. All difficulties now being removed, the three synods approved organic union to be effected in 1930.

3. The Merger Meeting

The three synods met simultaneously in St. Paul's Church, Toledo, O., the days preceding August 10, 1930, to complete their separate business. At 8 A. M. Sunday, August 10th, the three bodies met together for the first time for the Holy Communion. At 10:30 that same morning they assembled in the Paramount Theater, the largest auditorium in Toledo, for a great Mass Meeting at which the Rev. W. E. Schuette, D. D., of the Ohio Synod was the speaker.

The day following was occupied with business sessions at which the organization of the body was completed. The corporate title is "American Lutheran Church." Eighty-five pastors and sixty laymen were seated as delegates in the convention. The following officers were elected, the President for six years, the others for two years: President, Rev. C. C. Hein, D. D.; First Vice-President, Rev. K. A. Hoessel; Second Vice-President, Rev. C. G. Prottengeier; Third Vice-President, Rev. E. Poppen, D. D.; Secretary, Prof. E. J. Braulick. The treasurer is appointed by the Board of Trustees.

4. Doctrine and Practice

Article II of the constitution, bearing the title "Confession of Faith," reads:

1. The Synod accepts the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testaments as the inspired Word of God and the only infallible authority in all matters of faith and life.

2. The Synod also accepts each and all of the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as the true exposition and presentation of the faith once for all delivered unto the saints, to-wit: The three Ecumenical Creeds, viz: The Apostles', the Nicene and the Athanasian Creeds; the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and its Apology; the Smalcald Articles; the Large and Small Catechisms of Luther; and the Formula of Concord.

3. The Synod regards unity in doctrine and practice the necessary prerequisite for church fellowship, and therefore adheres to the rule, "Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran pastors only, and Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only," and rejects unionism in all its forms.

4. The Synod is earnestly opposed to all organizations or societies, secret or open, which, without confessing faith in the triune God and in Jesus Christ as the eternal Son of the eternal God, incarnate in order to be our only Savior from sin, are avowedly religious or practice forms of religion, teaching salvation by works. It declares such organizations and societies to be anti-Christian, and rejects any fellowship with them.

The effect of this doctrinal article is stated in section 2 of article V, "Membership," which reads:

Pastors and congregations desiring to become members of the Synod and to remain in connection with it must accept and confess the confessional basis of Article II; provided, however, that as regards the Symbolical Books an explicit recognition of Luther's Small Catechism and of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession shall be sufficient on the part of congregations.

5. Organization and Work

The formation of the American Lutheran Church is to be regarded, not as a federation in which each of the merging synods retained its identity, but as an organic union, a new synod. The new body is referred to in its constitution as "the Synod." At the merger meeting provision was made for the division of the territory into thirteen districts, obliterating former synodical lines.

"The Synod being an advisory body, any local church connected with the Synod remains its own highest authority

in all matters, subject to the Word of God." (Art. V, Sec. 3.) However, congregations may be disciplined for breach of the provisions of the doctrinal article. Ordination lies within the power of the districts. The Synod alone has the power to maintain educational institutions, missions, charitable institutions and publication activities. The Synod meets in convention biennially. In the period between conventions, the business is administered by the Executive Committee consisting of the President and the Vice-Presidents. The administration of all the financial affairs of the Synod is vested in the Board of Trustees.

The American Lutheran Church is well organized to carry on her many projects by means of administrative boards. She has set herself with enthusiasm to accomplish under God the great work possible to a united body.

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INTER-SYNODICAL RELATIONS

The Synodical Conference, which has already been described, is not a merger but a federation, loosely knit as to organization, but strongly bound together by ties of faith and general approach toward the problems of doctrine and practice.

The American Lutheran Conference, another federation, was organized in Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 29-31, 1930. Affiliation was on the basis of the so-called "Minneapolis Theses." The bodies constituting the Conference are: Augustana Synod, United Danish Lutheran Church, Lutheran Free Church, Norwegian Lutheran Church, and American Lutheran Church. The American Lutheran Conference, the Synodical Conference, and the United Lutheran Church are of approximately equal size, and together include about ninety-seven per cent of the Lutherans in America. The object of the American Lutheran Conference is thus stated in Article III of the constitution:

This organization is founded for the purpose of giving testimony to the unity in the faith of the participating church bodies, and to this end has as its objects:

1. Mutual counsel concerning the faith, life and work of the Church.
2. Coöperation in matters of common interest and responsibility such as:
 - A. Allocation of work in home mission fields.
 - B. Elementary and higher Christian education.
 - C. Inner Mission work (Christian Social Service).
 - D. Student service in State schools and Universities.
 - E. Special missionary activities.
 - F. Joint publication of Christian literature.
 - G. Periodic exchange of theological professors at the theological seminaries.

The power of the Conference is entirely advisory unless other power is delegated to it by the constituent bodies. Rev. Otto Mees, D. D., LL. D., is the first president.

The National Lutheran Council, representing the United Lutheran Church, the synods of The American Lutheran Con-

ference, and the Icelandic Synod, is an official agency with headquarters in New York. The Council came into existence during the World War when it was recognized that the Lutheran bodies needed some common official body to represent them. Since a large part of the Lutheran Church in America was foreign-speaking, the language problem presented special difficulties in a time of war hysteria. At a meeting of synodical presidents and representatives at Harrisburg, Pa., July 17, 1918, the organization of a national council was proposed. At Pittsburgh, Pa., August 1, a representative committee made a preliminary outline of the work of the Council. Formal organization occurred at Chicago, September 6, 1918. Dr. H. G. Stub was elected president; Dr. Lauritz Larsen, secretary; Hon. John L. Zimmerman, vice-president. Hon. E. F. Eilert was chosen as treasurer by the executive committee. Article II of the constitution as finally adopted reads:

The objects and purposes are·

1. To speak for the Lutheran Church and give publicity to its utterances on all matters which require an expression of the common conviction and sentiment of the Church.

2. To be the representative of the Lutheran Church in America in its attitude toward or relations to organized bodies outside of itself.

3. To bring to the attention of the Church all such matters as require common utterance or action.

4. To further the work of recognized agencies of the Church that deal with problems arising out of war and other emergencies; to coördinate, harmonize, and unify their activities, and to create new agencies to meet circumstances which require common action.

5. To coördinate the activities of the Church and its agencies for the solution of new problems which affect the religious life and consciousness of the people; e. g., social, economic, and educational conditions.

6. To foster true Christian loyalty to the State; and to labor for the maintenance of a right relation between Church and State as distinct, divine institutions.

7. To promote the gathering and publication of true and uniform statistical information concerning the Lutheran Church in America.

These purposes, in a post-war period, were temporarily eclipsed by the gigantic task of European relief. Nearly eight

million dollars in cash and supplies was sent in this Lutheran World Service for the help of Lutherans in Europe. Second, not in importance, but in cost was the work of preserving in the post-war period the foreign missions of European Lutheran bodies. Over seven hundred thousand dollars was spent in saving these missions to the Lutheran Church.

The regular work of the Council continues to be carried on. The Council represents its constituents before the government and other religious bodies. It maintains a Reference Library Service to furnish authoritative information concerning the Lutheran Church for authors, historians, and publishers of encyclopedias, dictionaries, almanacs, etc. Its Statistical Service provides reliable statistics of Lutheran bodies. Especially noteworthy is its publication in biennial volumes of *The Lutheran World Almanac and Encyclopedia*, a reference work of greatest importance. The Council's publicity service also deserves mention as valuable to the Lutheran Church. Less tangible, but equally significant, has been the deepening of Lutheran consciousness and the developing of Lutheran solidarity in consequence of the Council's work.

There has developed in America a growing number of **inter-synodical conferences and associations** with special interests. Space permits but the mere mention of them: The Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference of America; The American Lutheran Home Mission Council; The National Lutheran Inner Mission Conference; the Conference of Evangelical Lutheran Deaconess Motherhouses in America; The Lutheran Deaconess Association Within the Evangelical Synodical Conference of North America; The National Lutheran Educational Conference, in which the United Lutheran Church, The American Lutheran Conference, and independent synods are represented; The National Lutheran Education Association, a Synodical Conference organization; The Lutheran Student Association of America; The Lutheran Publishing House Managers' Association; The National Lutheran Editorial Association; The American Lutheran Statistical Association; The American Federation of Lutheran Brotherhoods, in which the United Lutheran Church and The American Lutheran Conference are represented; and The Lutheran Inter-synodical Seminary Conference.

In the **Lutheran World Convention** American Lutherans have made contact with their brethren in other lands. Several factors brought this about. The spirit of the age was that of a world movement toward unity in many church families. Furthermore the influence of the celebration of the Reformation Quadricentennial served to heighten Lutheran consciousness throughout the world. Finally, the expression of international Lutheran helpfulness in the World Service of the National Lutheran Council provided opportunity for acquaintance between Lutherans of different nations.

The suggestion that Lutheran unity should have some objective expression was warmly espoused by the National Lutheran Council in America and the Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Konferenz in Germany. These bodies assumed the task of issuing the call for a world convention of Lutherans for the purpose of inner unity, alignment for testimony, and coöperation in work.

The first convention was held in Eisenach, Germany, August 19-24, 1923. One hundred fifty-one delegates from twenty-two countries, including seventeen from America, and many visitors were in attendance. The convention, with its program of addresses, discussions and historical observances, was of profound importance for World Lutheranism. Three resolutions, on doctrine, education, and World Service, express the spirit of the great gathering. Continuation of the work was entrusted to an executive committee of six members and a Large Standing Committee with representatives from each country.

The second Lutheran World Convention met in Copenhagen, Denmark, June 26-July 4, 1929, one day's sessions meeting in Lund, Sweden. Whereas the delegates of the first convention came by invitation, the members of this convention, one hundred forty-seven in number, were official delegates from their respective general bodies. The American delegation numbered thirty. The addresses and discussions concerned the general faith and work of world-wide Lutheranism. Among the important achievements reported to the Convention was the publication of a handbook of Lutheranism entitled *The Lutheran Churches of the World*, prepared by Dr. A. T. Jorgensen of Copenhagen, Dr. F. Fleisch of Hannover, Germany, and

Dr. A. R. Wentz of Gettysburg. The form of organization was modified somewhat, smaller committees replacing the Large Standing Committee. Dr. J. A. Morehead became president, devoting all his time to this work.

The Lutheran World Convention is a free association respecting the autonomy of the participating bodies. It carefully avoids political issues, confining itself to coöperation in the proclamation of the Gospel. It is an expression of the ecumenical character of Lutheranism. Its minimal doctrinal position is stated thus:

The Lutheran World Convention acknowledges the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the only source and infallible norm of all church doctrine and practice, and sees in the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, especially in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism, a pure exposition of the Word of God.

Virtually all Lutheran groups in America, the Synodical Conference being the chief exception, share in this movement which may be said to have received its chief impetus from America. Inner unity of Lutherans has been enhanced, common problems have had a joint effort, Lutheran minorities have been sustained and world-wide Lutheran interests have been protected. For a larger account see the published reports of the two conventions and articles in the various editions of the *Lutheran World Almanac*.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing pages have attempted to give an adequate account of Lutheranism in America. A complete account would require many volumes; it would lead into a more extensive treatment of the history of missions, the history of liturgical development, the history of Lutheran doctrine in America, and many biographies. However, at the conclusion of this brief account a glance at the problems confronting Lutheranism in America will serve as a guide in anticipating the future.

1. Lutheran Union

Despite exaggerated reports as to the dividedness of Lutheranism in America, there has been an inner unity and a rapid realization of it in organic union. For all Lutherans affirm their connection with the Wittenberg reformers. Except for several small bodies, Lutherans in America are gathered into three groups: the Synodical Conference, the United Lutheran Church, and The American Lutheran Conference. In matters of practical coöperation, the latter two join in the National Lutheran Council and in many associations.

If there is to be further organic union, certain points of doctrine and practice must be agreed upon. As stated in Article V of the Augsburg Confession, the church has insisted on "agreement concerning the teaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments." The position of Missouri and the Synodical Conference is that there must be complete agreement in doctrinal matters, even to minor details; "one and only one interpretation can be permitted in the Church, lest she prove disloyal to the Word of God" and the "congregations be driven into the grasp of scepticism and infidelity." This insistence on agreement in all matters renders the problem of union, and also of coöperation, exceedingly difficult. (See Neve, *Story and Significance of the Augsburg Confession*, chapter 10.)

The principal features of practice in which there is lack of unanimity are those of pulpit and altar fellowship with

non-Lutherans, and membership, especially on the part of pastors, in secret societies. Both practices are interpreted to have a relation to the doctrinal problems of syncretism and Socinianism. On this whole problem of union, however, it must be remembered that division has not been an unmixed evil, nor will complete union under some circumstances prove a pure blessing.

2. Union with non-Lutherans

Syncretism is the joining together of parts of several entities—a sort of brick-and-mortar process—in contrast to the growth and development of an organism from within. The latter process is that upon which the Lutheran Church in its history has insisted. Syncretism, the insertion of doctrines and practices from non-Lutheran sources, has been rejected. There has been firm adherence to the principle that the doctrines and practices of the Church must grow out of Scriptural sources.

About the beginning of the present century the growing spirit of interdenominationalism in the Reformed Church family was in itself a constant temptation for English speaking Lutherans of our land to participate in confederative, if not in organic, union movements. In 1908 the "Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America" was organized. It was a clearing house for interdenominational activities. Home Mission, Foreign Mission and Educational Boards federated for coöperative work. The international Stockholm "Universal Conference on Life and Work" of 1925 in Sweden stimulated the spirit of interdenominationalism. Steps were also taken to bring about *organic* union between the churches. There were the World Conferences on Faith and Order, initiated by the Episcopal Church in America, which resulted in the first convention at Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1927. The Presbyterians, beginning in 1918, started a union movement which was to comprise American Protestantism. A series of conferences was held in Philadelphia. It left no results. The Disciples had founded an "Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity" (1910) with invitations extended even to the Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic Churches. Finally an endeavor was made at local conventions all over the land to stampede the churches into union by a week of feasting culminating

in great pageants which were to carry the union. The confessional factor was ignored. The whole movement demonstrated the indescribable superficiality which dominates so large a part of present-day American denominationalism. There is no regard for the lessons of history, no conscience on the doctrinal positions so sacred to the fathers!

To the honor of American Lutheranism it must be said that not one of its synods took part in any of these last mentioned American movements for organic union. The relation of the United Lutheran Church to the Federal Council is "consultative" only. The participation at Stockholm and at Lausanne by a number of our synods was without commitment to any plan of union; the visitors were present merely for the purpose of listening and witnessing. (See Neve, *Lutherans in the Movements for Church Union*, pp. 73, 81-197.)

3. Socinian Tendencies

Socinianism presents itself in the popular phrase, "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man," which ignores the fact that we are true children, reconciled to God, only through faith in Jesus Christ. Its legitimate end is Unitarianism, its basic principle salvation by works, its fundamental attitude the authority of human reason. The Church in Germany encountered this difficulty, finding its way out through the leadership of a host of such great theologians as Sartorius, Guericke, Th. Harnack, Luthardt and Dorner, to name but a few. From them came an influential theological literature of great importance. In America, under the French influence prevailing after the War of Independence, a small group, with Dr. Quitman leading, attempted Socinian practice. With the exception of this unimportant group, the Lutheran Church in America has steadfastly opposed Socinian and humanistic tendencies whether from theological or popular sources. Lutheran appeal is not to reason, but to the Scriptures, as the standard of faith and practice.

Note in this connection the paragraph in the "Washington Declaration" of the United Lutheran Church in 1920:

We warn against all teachers, sects and societies whose doctrines and principles deny the reality of sin, the personality of God, the full and complete Godhead of our Lord Jesus Christ, and His redemption of the world by His sufferings and death,

and the truth and authority of the Holy Scriptures; as well as against all teachers, sects and societies which teach that men can be saved from sin, or can become righteous before God, by their own works or by any other means than the grace and mercy of God in Jesus Christ. We believe that such doctrines are not only not Christian, but are anti-Christian and destructive of true Christian faith and life.

4. Fidelity to the Confessions

Examination of the doctrinal statements in the constitutions of Lutheran bodies in America reveals a common acceptance of those formulations of faith known as the symbolical writings, among which stand preëminently the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism. These are accepted as correct exhibitions of Scriptural doctrine. This attitude displays the bodies described herein as genuinely entitled to the name "Lutheran." It shows them established on firm foundations. Moreover, the text of the Augsburg Confession adopted is not that weakened, modified edition prepared by Melancthon, but the original, "unaltered" text. (See Neve, *Augsburg Confession*, p. 53.)

Based on this doctrinal position, the Church has erected her structure of liturgy and practice, hymnology and work. Catechization and confirmation become the regular parish method. Lutheran usages find their genius here. Lutheran attitudes toward moral and social problems here discover a criterion.

Such differences as exist between Lutheran groups arise over the question of the extent of the authority admitted to the Confessions. The protagonists for an authoritative theology, rendering an undisputed decision on every point of doctrine, are to be found in the Synodical Conference. The other Lutheran bodies in America, equally vigorous in their adherence to the Augsburg Confession, maintain that certain doctrines, not essential to salvation, must be considered as "open questions." It appears that the progress toward organic Lutheran union in America must delay until this problem finds some solution. (See Neve, *Introduction to the Symbolical Books*, 1st ed., pp. 93-100, 170-84; 2nd ed., 101-11, 179-94.)

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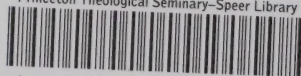
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